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NEW EXISTENCE AND RIGHTEOUS LIVING
IN COLOSSIANS AND 1 PETER
IN CONVERSATION WITH *4QINSTRUCTION* AND THE
HODAYOT

by

Robert L. Cavin

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Theology and Religion

Durham University

2010

Abstract

The present study consists of a comparison of the impact of the Christ-event on the existence of the elect in Colossians and 1 Peter. As such it is a study in the theological anthropology of two significant New Testament texts. The main argument of this thesis is that Colossians and 1 Peter contain distinctive emphases in their understanding of: the σάρξ (“flesh”) of the elect (anthropology), the temporal axis of salvation (eschatology), the extent to which the elect participate in the “heavenly” sphere (cosmology), and the means to live rightly (agency). Because a NT author’s beliefs prior to faith in Christ reflect a particular cognitive environment formed by the author’s historical setting and cultural milieu, setting the author’s views in the context of Early Jewish texts throws fresh light on his thought-world and understanding of the new existence. I argue that many of the features distinguishing Colossians from 1 Peter stem from the possibility that Colossians reflects the thought-world of *4QInstruction* and 1 Peter that of the *Hodayot*.

The thesis has the following structure. Chapter 1 explains the reasoning for comparing Colossians and 1 Peter by showing their manifold similarities with one another including their respective Christologies which undergird their remarkably similar paraenetical material. The question is raised why, if the epistles end up offering almost identical paraenesis, they have such distinctive theological patterns of thought. Chapter 2 is an overview of scholarship demonstrating that this question has not been adequately answered. This is due partly to an emphasis on the recipient context and to reading each respective author’s theology primarily as a response to the *Sitz im Leben* of the recipients. The overview will also demonstrate that both authors draw from the HB and EJB to interpret the impact of the Christ-event, but do so with distinctive language, emphases, and metaphors. Chapter 3 will analyze 1 Peter’s understanding of the new existence locating it within the author’s worldview in which suffering is a significant aspect of being God’s ‘end of days’ people. Chapter 4 will explore the *Hodayot* and demonstrate the manifold ways in which it provides antecedents to ideas

identified in 1 Peter. Chapter 5 will analyze the worldview of the author of Colossians and his understanding of the new existence including his emphasis on the elect as possessing the “mystery” of God. Chapter 6 will explore *4QInstruction* and demonstrate the manifold ways in which it provides antecedents to ideas identified in Colossians. Chapter 7 will conclude the thesis drawing the threads together and summarizing the distinctive emphases of Colossians and 1 Peter in their respective understandings of the new existence and the means to live rightly.

Declaration

This thesis is the product of my own work and does not include work that has been presented in any form for a degree at this or any other university. All quotation from, and references to, the work of persons other than myself have been properly acknowledged throughout.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published in any format, including electronic and the internet, without his prior written consent, and information derived from it should be appropriately acknowledged.

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible Commentary
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASNU	Acta Seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis
ATDan	Acta theologica Danica
BAGD	Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2d ed. Chicago, 1979.
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BL	<i>Bibel und Liturgie</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judean desert</i>
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
DSSSE	The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, 1997
ÉBib	Études bibliques
EvQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
EDNT	Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament
EDT	Evangelical Dictionary of Theology
EJL	Early Jewish Literature
ExpT	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTS	Harvard theological Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JDT	<i>Jahrbucher für deutsche Theologie</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplements Series

<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NCB	New Century Bible
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NTG	New Testament Guides
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OUP	Oxford University Press
PNTC	The Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
RevExp	Review & Expositor
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation series
SBLBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies of the Texts in the Judean Desert
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TB	Theologische Bücherei
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
THNT	The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur geschichte der Altchristlichen literatur
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Ancient texts are abbreviated in accordance with the *SBL Handbook of Style*

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. His great sacrifice has provided me new life and hope. He has sustained me and provided for me. I am here and able to undertake this work because of him. I pray that this study reflects the profundity of the cross and the resurrection. While merely scratching the surface, I hope this study illuminates the most wonderful event in all of human history.

I am grateful to God for providing the opportunity to undertake this study. I am acutely aware of the privilege and responsibility of engaging in extended research on these topics. More people than I can name here have provided instruction, council, encouragement, and support over the years for which I am indebted.

I am thankful to the Lord for my wife, Laurie. You are my best friend as well as the mother of our two children. Thank you for desiring to grow in Christ-likeness. Your willingness to exchange the comfort and security of life and friends in So. Cal. for the adventure of life overseas is a testament to your desire to follow God regardless of the cost. Thank you for reading (and rereading!) my thesis. While it is not the English classics to which you are accustomed, you persevered none-the-less and offered helpful suggestions.

I am thankful to the Lord for my grandmother, Inez, who demonstrated Jesus' love to me and taught me Scripture. I am thankful for my mother, Diana. Your love and support over the years has been unconditional and a source of great joy. Know that I love you. I am thankful for my mother-in-law, Bev Amsbary. You welcomed me into your family and your love continues to bless our family.

I am thankful to the Lord for my friends. Dennis Stafford, I miss you brother, and I look forward to our reunion in glory. Jim Menne, I am thankful for our continued conversations in England. I look forward to many more for years to come. Your friendship blesses and enriches my life.

I am thankful to the Lord for the godly men who have demonstrated through word and deed what it means to be a godly man, husband, and father. I want to especially thank my father-in-law, Doug Amsbary. You raised a wonderful daughter and then you took me into your family with open arms. I am grateful for your model as a husband and a father. I miss you, and look forward to seeing you again in glory. Anson Cagle, I am thankful for your prayer and friendship, especially through high school. I am thankful for the godly pastors in my life: Dr. Winfred Moore, Randall Stotts, Dwaine Greene, Dennis Keating, and Greg Lane. May God richly bless you as you have me!

I am thankful to the Lord for the excellent scholars who have instructed me. Dr. Clinton Arnold, thank you for demonstrating humility in scholarship. To watch you continue to learn from the text after decades of study is a wonderful model. Dr. Michael Wilkins, thank you for demonstrating a love for God's Word. Your passion for teaching in such a way that students are both challenged and captivated is an inspiration. Dr. Mark Strauss, thank you for your infectious love of the Greek language and your passionate instruction that translations are both accurate and understandable. Thank you too for your extraordinary kindness to me at ETS/SBL the past two years. Dr. Loren Stuckenbruck, thank you for introducing me to the Dead Sea Scrolls and challenging me through our conversations. Lastly, Dr. Stephen Barton, thank you for your supervision. You are truly a scholar and a gentleman. Thank you for the latitude to tackle an ambitious project. Thank you for detailed reading of my work and insightful comments. I am grateful for your support and friendship.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Similarities

Colossians and 1 Peter have much in common. Firstly, both letters claim to be written by an *ἀπόστολος* of Christ (Col 1:1; 1 Pet 1:1), representing foundational documents of nascent Christianity. Secondly, the epistles share strikingly similar paraenesis. Going beyond their common *Haustafel*, a significant proportion of their content is devoted to paraenetic exhortation. In addition to related linguistic terms, the epistles' theological argumentation, in many ways, arrives at the same place regarding the desired behaviors and virtues of the recipients. Thirdly, robust christologies undergird the paraenesis and shape their respective understandings of believers' new existence. Fourthly, each epistle's "in Christ" theology is fundamental to the way they formulate their paraenesis and exhortations to holiness arising from that new existence. These similarities are fascinating in that both authors articulate the Christ-event and its impact (completed, on-going, and future) upon those who profess *πίστις* that God has done something extraordinary, in and outside of history, in and through Christ, for and to them. Yet, despite similarities, distinguishing features exist. Such features can be observed in how each author works out the relationship between Christology and paraenesis. Especially important for this study is the understanding both authors reflect regarding the new existence and the means for righteous living.

The importance of Christology and paraenesis in Colossians and 1 Peter has been recognized for some time. However, much less attention has been given to how each author understands the new existence and its connection to the means for righteous living. Without question, the epistles are occasional documents, and the paraenesis resides within theological arguments addressing particular circumstances,

related to the letter's occasion and theology.¹ The occasional nature of the epistles, rightly, is well studied. But, the degree to which theological constructs, apart from the recipients' needs, bear on the author's understanding of the new existence is less well understood.

1.2 Basis for the Comparison

The commonalities between Colossians and 1 Peter invite comparison. For example: prayers referring to the “hope” (ἐλπίς, Col 1:5, 23, 27; 1 Pet 1:3, 13, 21; 3:5, 15) of believers open both letters. This hope is an object in heaven described metaphorically as an “inheritance” (κληρονομία, Col 3:24; 1 Pet 1:4), “the glory already bestowed on Christ . . . that will be shared with his people.”² In each letter, believers are described as “elect” (ἐκλεκτός, Col 3:12; 1 Pet 1:1; 2:4, 6, 9), a reminder that they have been set apart by God whom they are to reverently “fear” (φοβέω, Col 3:22; 1 Pet 2:17).

As the elect people of God, they are now “holy” (ἅγιος, Col 3:12; 1 Pet 1:15, 16; 2:5, 9), both a status and the basis for exhortations to “put off” (ἀποτίθημι, Col 3:8-9; 1 Pet 2:1) certain behaviors. Using different verbs for “to clothe”, the letters exhort new attitudes and behaviors to “wear” (ἐνδύω, Col 3:12; ἐγκομβόομαι, 1 Pet 5:5). The putting off and on requires believers’ agency, namely “set your minds” (τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, Col 3:2) and “prepare your minds” (ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν, 1 Pet 1:13). Both letters exhort abandoning vices such as “evil desires” (ἐπιθυμία, Col 3:5; 1 Pet 1:14; 2:11; 4:2, 3) and “malice” (κακία, Col 3:8; 1 Pet 2:1, 16). Correspondingly, godly desires and traits are exhorted to be worn, i.e. “humility” (ταπεινοφροσύνη, Col 3:12; 1 Pet 5:5), “gentleness” (πραΰτης, Col 3:12; 1 Pet 3:16), “patience” (μακροθυμία, Col 1:1; 3:12; 1 Pet 3:20), “peace” (εἰρήνη, Col 3:15; 1 Pet

1. That context impacts theology and paraenesis, see Arnold, *Syncretism*, 7; Barclay, *Obeying*, 8; Bevere, *Sharing*, 11; Longenecker, “Suprahuman,” 92.

2. Marshall, *Theology*, 367, 645.

3:11), and “love” (ἀγάπη, Col 3:14; 1 Pet 4:8). Each author reminds his recipients that everything they do is to be for the Lord (Col 3:17, 23; 4:16; 1 Pet 2:22; 3:11, 12). In addition, the letters also contain a common *Haustafel* (Col 3:18-4:1, and 1 Pet 2:13-3:7).

The defeat of malevolent spiritual beings and forces figures prominently in Colossians, but it is also a theme in 1 Peter. Christ’s disarming of “the rulers and the authorities” (τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, Col 2:10, 15) is quite similar to the “angels and authorities and powers” having been subjected to him (ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων, 1 Pet 3:22). Lastly, the recipients of each letter were believers living in Greco-Roman societies that valued syncretism³ and the *oikos*-model within the family.⁴

Neither Colossians nor 1 Peter refers to Israel or the Law. Every other Pauline epistle, on the other hand, refers in some manner to the nation of Israel, the Law, and/or Jew/Gentile discord which has resulted from the gospel. Ephesians, for example, describes in considerable detail the changed socio-religious relationship between Jews and Gentiles as a result of the Christ-event.⁵ Colossians’ and 1 Peter’s silence on these matters sets them apart from Ephesians.⁶ This silence is especially noteworthy in 1 Peter considering its thoroughly Jewish language, hermeneutic, and use of the HB. This is not without precedent. In examining the genre of wisdom in the HB, “surprisingly, the nation of Israel is never mentioned in this literature.”⁷ Similarly, then, Colossians and 1 Peter remain silent on Israel as they shape their respective theologies, lending weight to their selection as dialogue partners.

Does the common language point to literary dependence and/or common sources? Or did each independently develop their theology? Is 1 Peter drawing from a

3. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 137, 138.

4. Balch, “Household,” 27.

5. Cf. Eph 2:11-22. See Yee, *Jews*.

6. *Contra* Mitton, “Relationship” who argues that 1 Peter drew from Ephesians which drew from Colossians. However, 1 Peter’s silence regarding Israel and the covenant marks it out from Ephesians.

7. See Dell, “Wisdom,” 413. Also, Perdue, *Creation*. Recently, Perdue, *History*.

Pauline pool, a common tradition, or does it reflect a Petrine contribution?⁸ Or, is it possible that Colossians drew from 1 Peter? For Colossians priority, Horrell points to the fact that the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (Col 1:2; 1:4; 1:28; 2:20; 3:1; 3:3; 1 Pet 3:16; 5:10; 5:14) occurs outside the Pauline or deutero-Pauline corpus only in 1 Peter, concluding that 1 Peter was influenced by a Pauline tradition. Others, like Herzer, argue that similarities reflect a common tradition.⁹ Selwyn, based on the wealth of parallels between the HB, Gospels, Acts, and NT epistles, concludes that 1 Peter drew from common oral and written traditions.¹⁰ Beare, in response to Selwyn, concluded instead that 1 Peter drew upon “a number of N.T. writings” as well as “several, if not all, of the epistles of the Pauline corpus.”¹¹ In disagreement, Richard regards the writer of 1 Peter as “strikingly original and comparably creative in comparison to Paul.”¹² Similarly, 1 Peter’s unique purpose in 2:18-25 and its difference from that of Col 3:18-22 leads Jobes to question “any relevant evidence of literary dependence between Peter and Paul.”¹³ Goppelt argues that 1 Peter reflects the early church of Palestine and is colored by similar traditions which shaped the Synoptic Jesus tradition.¹⁴ Insightfully, Goppelt notices “points of view from Jewish wisdom and apocalypticism” mixed together as 1 Peter draws on “a tradition going back directly to Palestinian origins,” independently shaped by the author.¹⁵ Elliott, noting that differences between 1 Peter and the Pauline writings are “numerous and striking,” concludes that none of the affinities between the epistles “can be shown to be the result of *direct literary borrowing*” but instead reflect “features typical of the early Christian proclamation and

8. Horrell, “Reassessment,” 60.

9. Noted by Horrell, “Reassessment,” 34.

10. See Selwyn, *First Peter*, 365–466, who building on the work of Carrington, *Primitive* and referring to Hunter, *Predecessors* and Seeberg, *Katechismus*, divides parallels into four types: 1) influence of Silvanus, 2) baptismal catechism, 3) paranaetic/catechetical teaching, and 4) persecution forms.

11. Beare, *First Peter*, 219.

12. Richard, *Reading*, 4.

13. Jobes, *1 Peter*, 187.

14. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 30–34.

15. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 36.

teaching in general.”¹⁶ E. Best argues that the presence in two epistles of “phrases and ideas which were common in early Christianity,” but which are used randomly and in differing ways suggests that the author supposedly borrowing did not have a copy of the other “in front of him as he wrote but had its words in his mind.”¹⁷ In light of the foregoing discussion, I raise the question of whether it is possible to reach a conclusion about literary dependence. Instead, might it be more prudent to ask at what level can this commonality be explained? One value of this study is that it does not depend on how Colossians and 1 Peter are related. It is not necessary to establish the precise relationship between the epistles (including date and authorship) because this study focuses, not on their shared material, which is extensive, but on their distinctive aspects with respect to one another. Like concentric circles, the epistles overlap in many ways, for example, in the items discussed above, in their shared “story” of the Christ-event, and in their emphasis upon the necessity of πίστις in Christ for the removal of sins. However, it is their non-overlapping, distinctive ideas with respect to each other that merit investigation. Therefore, while readily acknowledging that Colossians and 1 Peter evidently share much in common (however this is to be explained), this sheds little light as to why such distinctive aspects exist. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore some of these distinctive ideas, seeking points of contact and precursors in EJJ.

Both letters contain some of the most theologically significant Christology in the NT. Colossians contributes understandings of Christ in ways found nowhere else.¹⁸ Its presentation of his deity (1:19; 2:9), preexistence (1:15-17), agency in creation (1:16-17), headship over the church (1:18, 24; 2:19), and supremacy (1:18; 2:10) contribute to, arguably, the most highly developed Christology in the New Testament.¹⁹ This is especially evident in regards to its “realized” eschatology (2:12-

16. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 37–40.

17. Writing about Colossians/Ephesians, Best, “Relationship,” 76 makes a point applicable here.

18. Carson and Moo, *Introduction*, 529.

19. That the Christology in 1:15-20; 2:9-10,15 is further developed than the Synoptics,

13; 3:1). Every aspect of theology in Colossians is shaped by its Christology.²⁰ 1 Peter too is christologically rich. Achtemeier regards 1 Peter as “one of the most thoroughly christocentric writings in the New Testament”.²¹ The Christology of the NT would suffer immensely without these epistles.

The letters connect Christology and paraenesis in unique ways. Barclay rightly argues for the christological theology of Colossians and the radical Christianization of behavior by which a new rationale reorients ordinary life, i.e. everything is to be done for the one Master, Christ, because believers are “in the Lord” (ἐν κυρίῳ) and thus serving Christ.²² Believers’ “status as ἐν κυρίῳ gives them a new identity” and directs their moral behavior.²³ This new existence transforms their worldview; meaning and purpose now come from serving the Lord of creation who has redeemed them.²⁴ Colossians’ “realized eschatology” (Col. 1:13; 2:12; 3:1), then, serves as the basis for the ethical imperatives.²⁵ Christ’s cosmic victory and power extends to believers through their present union with him in his kingdom.²⁶

1 Peter, however, undergirds its paraenesis by elevating the pattern of Christ’s earthly life. Through construction of a salvation-historical metanarrative that serves as a motivational basis for ethical behavior,²⁷ 1 Peter uniquely emphasizes Christ’s righteousness in suffering persecution. This uniqueness is evident in 2:21-25 where Jesus is explicitly identified with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. Recent works by Richard and Tuñi, for example, have highlighted 1 Peter’s imitation theology which portrays Jesus’ suffering as an exemplary pattern.²⁸ Unlike Colossians, 1 Peter elevates Christ’s righteous suffering as God’s paradigm for believers because emulation of

Gospel of John, and undisputed Pauline letters, see Dunn, *Colossians*, 36.

20. Barclay, *Colossians*, 79–80.

21. Achtemeier, “Suffering,” 176.

22. Rightly, Barclay, “Ordinary,” 47.

23. Barclay, “Ordinary,” 45.

24. Ibid., 47.

25. O’Brien, “Letter,” 151.

26. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 246.

27. Rightly, Dryden, *Paraenetic*.

28. See Richard, “Functional,” 121–39 and Tuñi, “Jesus”.

Christ's *response* to suffering serves as an instrument of moral transformation (1 Pet 2:21).²⁹ Oversimplifying for brevity, Colossians focuses on the supremacy of Christ and the believer's resurrection with Christ, while 1 Peter presents Jesus' earthly, righteous suffering and the call to imitate him.

Christology is so central to both epistles that the Spirit's role recedes into the background. Colossians has only one direct reference to the Spirit (1:8). While the Spirit is the generative agent of love between believers and the one who unites believers together,³⁰ the Spirit is eclipsed by the epistle's christological emphasis. While the Spirit plays a more prominent role in 1 Peter (cf. 1 Pet 1:2,11,12; 3:18; 4:6; 14), including a description of the Spirit as consecrating (1 Pet 1:2) and resting on believers (1 Pet 4:15), Marshall notes that 1 Peter has "no particular emphasis on the Holy Spirit."³¹

Through their rich and powerful christological argumentation, the epistles share many features, but each also contains highly significant, and unique, emphases regarding the new existence. Herein lies the impetus for the present study: Firstly, what are the distinguishing features in their respective views on the new existence? Secondly, how, within their distinctive "in Christ" theologies, does the author expect believers to carry out the paraenesis? And thirdly, are the differences *solely* related to the occasional nature of the epistles or might theological traditions, apart from contingent circumstances of the recipients, also be at play?

1.3 The Need for this Study

In Chapter 2, I will demonstrate that much work remains in grasping each epistle's understanding of the new existence and the means to righteous living. No study has

29. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 199.

30. See Dunn, *Colossians*, 65–66; Cf. O'Brien, *Colossians*, 16; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 166; Bruce, *Colossians*, 44; Fee, *Empowering*, 639.

31. Marshall, *Theology*, 653.

systematically analyzed this aspect of these epistles, traced their respective patterns of thought within Second Temple Judaism, and then compared them with each other.

The theology and Christology of each epistle is most often viewed as a response to the exigent circumstances and needs of the recipients. Therefore, the conventional starting point for analysis of Colossians centers on the “opponents” and the author’s response to their teaching. The starting point for analysis of 1 Peter centers on the circumstances of the suffering recipients and the ways in which the author attempts to console/encourage them. Much has been learned from these investigations and these contextual issues are, without a doubt, important and contributing factors to each epistle’s theology.

However, the extent to which each epistle’s theology reflects an *underlying* pattern of ideas within each author’s worldview is less well understood. I recognize that it is impossible to isolate and analyze an author’s theology in a hermetically sealed environment apart from the contextual circumstances which the author addresses. Yet, evidence exists which indicates that streams of traditions, factors other than the recipients’ needs, contribute to the theology within each epistle. EYL demonstrates that a unanimity of opinion did not exist in Judaism. *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot*, texts from EYL, demonstrate this fact and as I will seek to show provide a backdrop to the reflections within Colossians and 1 Peter. These two specific Qumran texts were chosen for analysis because, as the investigation will demonstrate, they provide precedents, precursors, and parallels for the distinctive emphases under investigation in Colossians and 1 Peter. Thus, they shed new light with which to interpret both epistles.

To the extent that the “in” Christ theologies of Colossians and 1 Peter correspond to the pattern of ideas in these early Jewish texts, the distinctive features identified may reflect different cognitive milieus in Palestinian Judaism. In this way, the authors of Colossians and 1 Peter express worldviews and theologies within EYL to

address the needs of their recipients, demonstrating ways in which the cross-fertilization of *Judaisms* impacted Christian origins.³²

1.4 Method

Working within a broadly historical-critical framework, I will utilize a multi-disciplinary methodology to compare Colossians and 1 Peter,³³ attempting to synthesize and integrate various disciplines, not for the sake of multi-disciplinarity, but to bring to bear those methodologies which best illuminate the text. I will analyze each epistle paying close attention to three contextual levels, each built upon the other: (1) the context of discourse, (2) the context of the recipients, and (3) the cultural context.

The discourse level consists of textual criticism, language analysis (constructed meaning via lexemes and encoding), and discourse analysis (clauses, sentences, and larger speech units). At this level, I seek to understand the internal logic developed throughout the entire epistle. In the second context, I will pay close attention to the implied needs of the recipients which the author seeks to address. In the third level, the cultural context, I seek to understand the worldview and cognitive environment of the author and recipients, providing the basis to grasp meaning embedded in the author's terms and phrases.

1.5 Statement of the Thesis

The authors of Colossians and 1 Peter describe the new existence of the elect as they address and exhort the recipients in the midst of their contingent circumstances. Each author emphasizes different aspects of the new existence and the means to righteous

32. On the diversity of views within EJJ, see VanderKam, "Mapping," 20.

33. As described by Porter, "Exegesis".

living. I seek to detect these distinguishing aspects and locate antecedents for them in EJJ thereby explaining why these NT authors address the recipients' needs in the manner that they do.

Since the "new existence" is a broad label, I will focus the investigation by attending to four inter-related questions.

- (1) How does the author view the *σάρξ* ("flesh") of the elect (anthropology)?
 - a. Is the "flesh" considered a "power" and/or viewed as subject to "powers"? Is the "flesh" changed in the new existence?
 - b. How are *ἐπιθυμίας* ("desires") related to the "flesh"? Are "desires" less potent in the new existence?
- (2) How does the author articulate the *temporal* axis of salvation (eschatology)?
 - a. Is there an emphasis on salvation as realized or future?
 - b. Is eschatological judgment emphasized and/or imminent?
- (3) How does the author articulate the new existence *spatially* (cosmology)?
 - a. To what extent do the elect participate in the "heavenly" sphere?
 - b. Is the Spirit/Christ emphasized as "in" the believer?
- (4) By what means are the elect to live rightly (agency)?
 - a. Is there a means emphasized in the epistle?
 - b. Is there a connection between a means to live rightly and the author's view of the new existence?

Answers to these questions will address anthropology, eschatology, cosmology, and the believer's agency to provide a robust understanding of the new existence and the means to live rightly. A question may arise as to whether it is necessary to investigate so many areas at one time. I recognize this invites complexity. However, these four areas, when analyzed together, provide a rich pattern of ideas that illuminate distinguishing features within each author's worldview and theology.

In this comparison, I am speaking in terms of *emphases*, not contrasts. For it is neither necessary nor fruitful to frame the questions as contrasts. For example, it is counterproductive to speak in terms of realized *versus* future eschatology with respect to Colossians and 1 Peter. This dichotomy obscures the fact that each epistle contains both elements. Instead, it is more fruitful to speak in terms of *emphasis*, and therein seek to ascertain why such an emphasis exists. To help answer the question "Why are there different emphases?" I will analyze the *Hodayot* and *4QInstruction*, texts from

EJL. In relation to these two NT epistles, the *Hodayot* has not been dealt with sufficiently and *4QInstruction* has rarely been brought into the discussion.³⁴

1.6 Thesis Contribution

Firstly, this thesis is the only one I know of to compare Colossians and 1 Peter, demonstrating that *4QInstruction* provides possible antecedents to many of the distinctive emphases in Colossians and the *Hodayot* likewise for 1 Peter. Since both NT letters represent views by Jewish-Christians within nascent Christianity,³⁵ comparing the author's views against the backdrop of EJL contributes to a deeper understanding of how the diversity of thought in Second Temple Judaism impacted Christian origins.³⁶

Secondly, the study demonstrates the presence of distinctive worldviews and emphases within *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot*. Thus, the study contributes a deeper understanding of the diversity in EJL: that is to say, *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot* evince *Judaisms* prior to the first-century CE.

Thirdly, this study demonstrates the exegetical payoff from interpreting Colossians in the light of *4QInstruction*, a text which has received scant attention by Colossian scholars. The hermeneutics and theology in Colossians bear striking parallels to that in *4QInstruction*. Unique and contested phrases, such as “part of the lot of the saints in the light” (Col 1:12) and “fleshly mind” (Col 2:19), are rendered meaningful against this backdrop. By demonstrating that *4QInstruction* sheds light on Colossians, this study opens up an unexplored path for further investigations of this text from EJL.

34. I note the dearth, and usually absence, of citations from *4QInstruction* in the index of ancient sources in Colossian commentaries.

35. Thus, it is an *emic* perspective. See Simpson and Weiner, *OED*.

36. See Westerholm, “Anthropology,” 74 n. 13 who writes, “the extent and nature of Paul’s distinctiveness would certainly emerge more clearly if we were able to include the views of other *Christian* authors from the period (many of whom, of course, were also Jews).” While this study does not assume Pauline authorship of Colossians, Westerholm’s comment points to the value of comparative analysis.

Fourthly, this study demonstrates the exegetical payoff from interpreting 1 Peter in the light of the *Hodayot*, a text providing striking antecedents to its hermeneutics and theology. Against the backdrop of a dualistic conception of the human person represented in the *Hodayot*, unique aspects of 1 Peter, such as the contested phrase “whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin” (4:1b), become intelligible when viewed as part of the author’s understanding that God may utilize innocent suffering as an instrument to subdue sinful desires within the elect.

Fifthly, this study demonstrates that the author(s) of the *Hodayot* invested the experience of involuntary and innocent suffering with positive value and meaning; therefore, the *Hodayot* may provide evidence prior to the NT of the view that innocent suffering positively impacts the interior of humankind.³⁷

37. *Contra* A. E. Harvey who argues that Paul in 2 Corinthians 4 is the first, see especially chapter four in Harvey, *Renewal*.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

Chapter Overview

This chapter will interact selectively with scholarly works that illuminate the relationship between the Christ-event, the new existence, and paraenesis in Colossians and 1 Peter.¹ Given the nature of the study (comparison of two NT texts plus breadth of topics under investigation), I must limit the overview. The goals are to highlight scholarly works on each epistle that: (1) map lines of inquiry, and (2) highlight distinctive descriptions of the new existence. Cumulatively, the overviews will illustrate opportunities for further research.

2.1 An Overview of Colossian Scholarship

2.1.1 Insights from Jewish Background Studies

Background studies illuminate the importance of EJL in interpretation of Colossians. Arnold demonstrates the belief in and fear of the στοιχεῖα (2:8,20) as personalized evil spirits in EJL,² a conclusion strengthened by I. Smith.³ He also shows that cultic and ritual practices in Judaism lay behind the author's polemics (2:16-18; 20-23).⁴ Sappington demonstrates that Colossians and the Jewish apocalypses share a common "referential background" including reference to a χειρόγραφον (2:14).⁵ He notes the spatial dualism in apocalyptic literature which depicts a contrast between the righteous

1. By "Christ-event" I mean Jesus' passion, death, burial, resurrection, exaltation, and heavenly intercession, see Fitzmyer, "Justification," 81.

2. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 176–83.

3. Smith, *Heavenly*, 38.

4. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 195–218.

5. Understood as a "heavenly book," see Sappington, *Revelation*, 208.

heavenly realm and the wicked earthly realm.⁶ Bevere, building on this insight, correctly argues that “this ethical use of spatial terminology” in Colossians 3:1-9 “refers to a change, a transformation in the life of the believer.”⁷ Grasping the worldview and practices within Judaism illuminate the author’s theology and its connection to paraenetic exhortations. But what is the best starting point in Colossian studies?

2.1.2 The Opponents: a Fascination of Scholarship

Scholars have long sought to uncover the identity of the teachers in the background at Colossae, even arguing correct interpretation hinges on first identifying the teachers.⁸ These shadowy figures have been variously called “errorists,”⁹ “opponents,”¹⁰ and “philosophers.”¹¹ I. Smith’s overview indicates the tremendous variety of scholarly interpretations.¹² The myriad of solutions on offer highlights two items. Firstly, a general consensus has emerged that the opponents’ teaching reflects elements in Judaism. Secondly, because the evidence prevents firm conclusions, the debate is far from settled. This raises the question of the impact of mirror-reading Colossians.¹³ If the author’s theology is viewed through the lens of the opponents’ “philosophy,” what then if that lens reflects poorly?

2.1.2.1 A Different Approach than Mirror-Reading

Is reconstruction of the opponents and their “philosophy” the best, or only, starting

6. Sappington, *Revelation*, 57.

7. Bevere, *Sharing*, 152.

8. Troy W. Martin, *Philosophy*, 205.

9. E.g., Sappington, *Revelation*, 173.

10. E.g., Bevere, *Sharing*, 28.

11. E.g., Troy W. Martin, *Philosophy*, 11.

12. See chapter two in Smith, *Heavenly*, 19–38.

13. See Barclay, “Mirror-Reading,” 253 on “problems” inherent to mirror-reading.

point? I argue that overemphasizing the “philosophy” may hinder grasping the author’s point, namely detailing the new existence *so that* believers “walk worthily.”

The impact of mirror-reading Colossians is illustrated through the debate over the interpretation of θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων (2:18). F. O. Francis translates the phrase as a subjective genitive, “worship which angels perform,” viewing the opponents as seeking to participate with the angels in worship of God in order to advance spiritually.¹⁴ Francis argues the errorists missed the sufficiency of redemption but did not denigrate Christ.¹⁵ Sappington, following Francis’ translation, similarly finds no error in the opponents’ Christology; therefore, he argues that the “hymn” (1:15-20) served a more general purpose than polemics.¹⁶ As I will discuss in Chapters 5 and 6, the author’s epistolary strategy of emphasizing the lordship of Christ in the “hymn” serves to placate fear of evil angelic beings, a point missed by Sappington. C. E. Arnold, then, rightly argues that the opponents misunderstood the believers’ victory over the hostile powers through union with Christ.¹⁷ But, Arnold insists this interpretation requires the phrase in 2:18 to be an objective genitive, “worship of angels.”¹⁸ However, evidence from EJJ demonstrates practices of both angelic worship of God and seer’s veneration of angels.¹⁹ In addition, I. Smith’s study has shown that a subjective genitive translation fits with understanding the στοιχεῖα as evil angelic beings. “Worship with the angels,” in this scenario, is a heavenly ascent to escape the “earthly” sphere and the dominion of the evil powers.²⁰

14. See Francis, “Humility,” 166 for the view that ταπεινοφροσύνη relates to fasting and rigors in conjunction with visionary transcendence, ἐμβατεύων refers to entering “the heavenly temple,” and θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων describes the errorists seeing the angelic worship of God.

15. See Francis, “Christological,” 193. In agreement, Rowland, “Visions,” 77.

16. Sappington, *Revelation*, 175–76.

17. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 293–307.

18. See Arnold, *Syncretism*, 9, who extends argument by Williams, “Cult”. That is worship of angels for apotropaic purposes and for help in every day matters. In agreement, Fee, *Christology*, 290 n. 3.

19. E.g., Tobit 11:14-15 (both recensions) alongside 12:16; *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400 2.1-2 and 4Q403 1 i.32-3), and *Asc. Isa.* 7:15, 21; 8:4-5, cited by Stuckenbruck, “Colossians,” 121. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *Angel*, 119. Cf. Stuckenbruck, “Worship”. See also, Rowland, “Visions,” 75 nn. 16–17.

20. Smith, *Heavenly*, 206.

The point is this: clarity regarding the opponents, and the phrases attributed to them, is lacking. Moreover, beginning with the opponents may influence the interpretation of the author's theology. Therefore, I will attempt to engage the author on his own terms, instead of through a particular foil, to grasp his view of the new existence.²¹

2.1.3 Behavior as a Main Concern: "Walk worthy" (1:10, 28; 2:6)

Meeks, like Hooker,²² questions whether the author of Colossians wrote primarily to address heresy which was creeping into the church.²³ While he risks missing the polemical thrust of 2:8-23, Meeks recognizes the overall shape and paraenetic character of the letter.²⁴ He correctly identifies the author's main concern as moral behavior (2:6) and raises the question of how Christology shapes the new existence and is thereby connected to paraenesis.²⁵

Sappington similarly finds obedience to the will of God as the author's main concern.²⁶ He points to the motif of revelation of the divine "mysteries" in EJJ as a key in grasping the worldview of Colossians,²⁷ and relates the function of revelation in apocalyptic writings and Colossians to exhortations for obedience amidst admonitions of coming judgment.²⁸ Bevere rightly notes that the paraenesis reflects "a fundamentally Jewish perspective on the moral life," that is "the idea that who one is as a person of God cannot be separated from how one lives."²⁹ Thus, identity as the elect people of God is inseparable from ethics, namely obedience to God.³⁰

21. As advised by Barclay, "Ordinary," 36 n. 3.

22. That the threat was non-specific, see Hooker, *Adam*, 121–36.

23. Meeks, "Moral," 38.

24. Meeks, "Unity," 210.

25. See Meeks, "Moral," 39. Cf. 1:9–10; 28.

26. Rightly, Sappington, *Revelation*, 180.

27. See esp. chs. 2–4 in Sappington, *Revelation*, 55–149.

28. Sappington, *Revelation*, 137.

29. Bevere, *Sharing*, 30.

30. *Ibid.*, 48–49.

In sum, a main purpose of the author is to articulate the new existence so that the elect “in Christ” grow in understanding of the revealed “mystery” in order to “walk worthily.” This new existence arises from the Christ-event and provides the basis for carrying out the paraenesis. A question, though, is why the author explains the new existence in the manner that he does? I will argue in Chapter 6 that attention to *4QInstruction* demonstrates that the author draws from a similar cognitive milieu to do so.

2.1.4 The Christ-Event, the New Existence, and Paraenesis

Barclay rightly points to the “Christocentricity” of Colossians, a Christology that is “broad and confident in scope,” whereby the author expects the “Christological cosmology” to shape believers’ lives.³¹ I will now look at specific christological concepts informing the new existence and connecting it to the paraenesis.

2.1.4.1 Realized Eschatology and the New Existence

A unique aspect of Colossians concerns the author’s “realized” eschatology. Sanders, as but one example, in analyzing the undisputed Pauline epistles, argues that “salvation,” to Paul, is typically future or present but not yet complete.³² Therefore, Colossians’ statements that believers have already been “transferred” (μεθίστημι 1:13; cf. 2:13-15) into Christ’s kingdom is, to him, an indication of its deutero-Pauline character.³³ T. Still helpfully provides a cogent corrective demonstrating the presence of “not-yet” elements in Colossians’ eschatology.³⁴ A possibility not adequately explored by scholarship is that the “realized” eschatology stems from the author’s own

31. Barclay, “Ordinary,” 36.

32. Sanders, *Paul*, 449.

33. See Sanders, *Paul*, 450 n. 12, accusing W. D. Davies, *Rabbinic*, 318 of putting too much emphasis on “realization of the eternal order” by accepting Colossians as Pauline.

34. Still, “Eschatology”.

theological background accentuated to refute the opponents' "philosophy." I will argue that the author draws from the theological milieu of *4QInstruction* to debate with opponents reflecting other milieus in Judaism.

Another element of the author's "realized" theology concerns believers' anthropology after faith in Christ. Investigating the undisputed Pauline epistles, Westerholm compares Paul's "pessimistic" view of humanity with views in EJJL "to highlight distinctive features of Paul's anthropology and to contextualize what he shares with others."³⁵ A value of Westerholm's study resides in its methodology. Similarly, I will analyze both NT authors' anthropological views and situate them alongside views in EJJL. A difference in my study is that I will focus on anthropology *after* faith in Christ as compared with views in EJJL on the anthropology of the *righteous* elect.

2.1.4.2 The Story of "in Christ"

Fowl rightly identifies a "story" of Christ that emphasizes Christ's superiority as the dwelling place of the fullness of deity.³⁶ He correctly notes that this "story" bears heavily on the ethical exhortations later in the epistle,³⁷ arguing that Paul uses the narrative to provide an explanation of reality and the community's existence and identity.³⁸ Meeks, likewise, argues that Paul connects behavior to knowledge through a cosmic story.³⁹ However, Meeks focuses on the author's development of believers' "perceptions of what they ought to think and to do."⁴⁰ While both Fowl and Meeks rightly highlight the Christ "story," neither adequately addresses its impact on the

35. Westerholm, "Anthropology," 73.

36. Fowl, *Story*, 152–54.

37. Fowl, *Story*, 20.

38. *Ibid.*, 200–201.

39. Meeks, "Moral," 40.

40. Meeks, "Moral," 44.

cosmos and believers. To the Colossian author, the Christ-event fundamentally changes the cosmos and the elect, a thesis I will explicate in Chapter 5.

2.1.4.3 ἐν κυρίῳ and Ultimate Allegiance

Barclay demonstrates how ἐν κυρίῳ language functions throughout the epistle to unite Christology and ethics, fashioning a new identity centered on the lordship of Christ, whereby every act gains new moral significance because it is a “transaction with one’s Master.”⁴¹ Therefore, submitting to the lordship of Christ belongs to the core of the letter.⁴² This new identity, ἐν κυρίῳ, is reinforced and internalized through “knowledge,” “wisdom,” and “understanding” of who Christ is, what he has done, and of believers’ place within Christ; therefore, ethical exhortations stem from this new identity, repeatedly undergirded by the author’s call “to be thankful” (εὐχαριστεῖν) as they reflect on Christ and his work on their behalf.⁴³ Even the polemical section (2:6-23) is founded on the christological appeal to “walk in Christ,” further demonstrating the epistle’s main concern, to live rightly ἐν κυρίῳ.⁴⁴ I will argue that this lordship motif and the epistolary strategy of framing the epistle with it (1:15-20) stems from the author’s cognitive background as reflected in *4QInstruction*.

2.1.4.4 ἐν Χριστῷ, Baptism, and Participation

Scholarship has long recognized the centrality in Pauline thought of participation with Christ. Schweitzer, for example, posits that union with Christ is “quasi-physical” in character with the result that the elect are being *physically* transformed for the

41. See Barclay, “Ordinary,” 46 See also Fee, *Christology*, 326–31 that κύριος language unites Christology and paraenesis in Colossians.

42. Barclay, “Ordinary,” 43.

43. Barclay, “Ordinary,” 46.

44. *Ibid.*, 37.

inaugurated but not yet consummated Kingdom of God.⁴⁵ Without accepting Schweitzer's concepts of "Christ-Mysticism" and preordination, or his view of physical inclusion into Christ,⁴⁶ his assertion that being "in Christ" transforms believer's existence and results in Christ's power operating within believers merits consideration.⁴⁷ Sanders, likewise, helpfully notes that "the participatory union is not a figure of speech for something else . . . but is real."⁴⁸

The author employs both individualistic and corporate language to portray participation "in Christ." Thankfulness over the Colossians' faith points to the individual's response,⁴⁹ and the author's metaphors indicate that a corporate agent is also in view.⁵⁰ Fee, for example, correctly views the "head/body" metaphor in 2:19 and the enigmatic "in Christ" expression corporately noting that the metaphor shows the dependent relationship of the body on Christ; just as creation exists "in Christ" so also the church which draws all sustenance from Him.⁵¹

In Colossians, the new existence and subsequent behavior of believers is arguably shaped most profoundly through the participationist and baptismal language. Mohrlang, who assigns Colossians to the Pauline corpus, notes that ἐν Χριστῷ is Paul's favorite phrase to describe the relationship with Christ and argues that living "in Christ" (2:6) is an intimate union which is to shape the whole of one's outlook and ethical behavior.⁵² Bevere, similarly, contends that ethics derive from "participation in Christ" and rests on the cross and resurrection.⁵³ Arnold rightfully notes that participation in Christ (2:12-13) is the center of the Colossian author's argument, evident in the baptism ritual which identifies believers with Christ (2:12) and is

45. Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 110.

46. Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 105–18.

47. Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 111.

48. Sanders, *Paul*, 455.

49. Rightly, Sampley, "Faith," 225.

50. Cf. "the elect," 3:12; "one body," 2:19; 3:15, and "the church," 1:18; 2:24.

51. Fee, *Christology*, 306.

52. Mohrlang, *Comparison*, 83.

53. Bevere, *Sharing*, 164–66.

foundational to the paraenetic section (3:9ff.).⁵⁴ Meeks also recognizes the centrality of baptismal language in Colossians, but argues its effectiveness resides in its power as a symbol enacted through a “dramatic myth of descent, ascent, and reconciliation.”⁵⁵ While Meeks notes the significance of the “stripping away” language, he has not dealt adequately with the author’s theology within a first-century worldview which depicts a transformation to the new existence.

In the author’s worldview, powers both cosmic and anthropological are real entities within the κόσμος and believers. I argue that situating the author’s theology within a first-century worldview aids in recognizing the author’s interpretation of the Christ-event as having profound transformative effects. In this worldview, indwelling by the “heavenlies” radically changes believers’ anthropology. The Colossian author has drawn from the cognitive milieu of EJL, including *4QInstruction*, to explain this transformation in which the elect have a “non-fleshly” existence that is simultaneously individual and corporate. Further, and because interiorization of the “heavenlies” represents a dissolution of the cosmological barrier, believers exist simultaneously in both spheres as this new individual and corporate agent.

2.1.4.5 The Spirit and Living Rightly

Yates correctly recognizes the inseparable nature of the epistle’s theology and ethical exhortations. He helpfully notes the tension between the paraenetic material and the Christology, i.e. the vice and virtue lists “are set in the context of the theology of dying and rising with Christ.”⁵⁶ In light of the new status “in Christ,” believers are exhorted to “put on” virtues and “put off” the old self. Yet, despite being “dead to the world with Christ,” the believer “still lives in the world and is subject to its temptations.”⁵⁷

54. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 296–97.

55. *Contra* Meeks, “Unity,” 211.

56. See Yates, “Paraenetic,” 241–46. that baptism (2:11-12) is linked with the language of “putting on” and “putting off” of habits.

57. Yates, “Paraenetic,” 244.

Yates points to a key question. How does Colossians view “desires” and the “flesh” for those “in Christ”? Are believers pictured as freed from either or do they present obstacles to live rightly?

What role does divine agency, indwelling by the Spirit, have in enabling believers to live rightly? Similar to the Pauline homolegoumena, Colossians does not emphasize imitation of Christ.⁵⁸ However, in a manner uncharacteristic to “Paul,” Colossians contains only one explicit Spirit reference (1:8),⁵⁹ a statistic that begs the question of the role of divine agency in Colossians. If, as Mohrlang asserts, the Spirit in the believer is the primary driving force in Paul’s ethics,⁶⁰ then how, according to Colossians, are believers enabled to live rightly?

Might the Spirit be prevalent in Colossians, but simply spoken of enigmatically? Bockmuehl helpfully demonstrates the Jewish antecedents for the motif of “the mystery” τὸ μυστήριον (1:26, 27; 2:2) and relates this to the author’s emphasis that Christ is the mystery.⁶² This mystery, Arnold notes, is glorious because it is “the presence of the indwelling Christ in believers (1:27),”⁶³ the source for believers’ power, hope, and “wisdom and knowledge” (2:2-3).⁶⁴ Bockmuehl and Arnold are certainly correct that Judaism is the source of the Colossian author’s emphasis on the μυστήριον and on Christ as that μυστήριον who enables believers by his indwelling presence. I will argue this further in Chapters 5 and 6 noting how *4QInstruction* provides a significant backdrop to the author’s view that God’s “mystery” has already been revealed to the elect and that increased knowledge of that “mystery” enables the elect to live rightly.

58. Fitting the pattern in ‘Paul’ identified by Mohrlang, *Comparison*, 86.

59. See Lohse, *Colossians*, 23 n. 92 that “the concept ‘spirit’ (πνεῦμα) . . . occurs once more in 2:5.” *Contra* Crouch, *Origin*, 131–45 that a problem of “pneumatic enthusiasm” in Colossae accounts for relative silence on the Spirit.

60. Mohrlang, *Comparison*, 115.

62. Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 7–128.

63. Arnold, *Syncretism*, 272.

64. *Ibid.*, 273–74.

2.1.4.6 Cognition “in Christ”

Cognition and choosing, “thinking” (φρονέω, 3:2) and “seeking” (ζητέω, 3:1), appear to play a more central role than the Spirit in connecting Christology to ethics. As Bevere notes, “φρονέω refers to more than an intellectual activity. It is an expression of will and motives.”⁶⁵ Moreover, ζητέω clarifies φρονέω as “a specific orientation of will” on heavenly matters in which recipients think differently to live differently.⁶⁶ As I will demonstrate in Chapter 6, the Colossian author’s emphasis on learning activities, specifically to grow in “understanding” the “mystery” fit within the pattern of ideas expressed within sapiential and apocalyptic Jewish traditions such as *4QInstruction*.

2.1.5 Summary: Review of Colossians Scholarship

Scholarship has long examined christological themes within Colossians, yet often treating them as separate “pieces.” It has focused primarily (though not exclusively) in a few areas: reconstructing the opponent’s “philosophy,” the source of the so-called “hymn,” the Christology as it relates to the person of Christ, and the origin and function of the household code. A lacuna exists in theological studies to systematically examine the impact of the Christ-event on believers’ anthropology and the means to live rightly and to locate the author’s ideas within Second Temple Judaism. Assembling the author’s description of the new existence in the light of a first-century worldview and concepts in EJJ may provide a more robust model to understand the author’s theology.

2.2 An Overview of 1 Peter Scholarship

65. Bevere, *Sharing*, 170.

66. *Ibid.*, 173.

2.2.1 Insights From Jewish Background Studies

It is hard to over estimate the value of Jewish background studies to the interpretation of 1 Peter. The author extensively quotes and alludes to the HB, especially Isaiah.⁶⁷ Achtemeier, for example, demonstrates that 2:21-25 reflects the author's adaptation of Isaiah 53 to match the sequence of Jesus' Passion.⁶⁸

Hermeneutical affinities with the DSS (e.g., 1QpHab VII 1-5) lead Schutter to proclaim that the "number of points of contact" are "little less than breath-taking."⁶⁹ Gärtner shows how 1 Peter's temple symbolism functions to create an identity for believers as God's new covenant people, a motif running throughout the DSS.⁷⁰ Recently, Mbuvi extended the discussion by demonstrating how the author combines temple imagery with the exile motif from the HB and EJL to fashion a particular identity of believers as God's new covenant exilic people.⁷¹ As Lohse summarizes, parallels between 1 Peter and the DSS indicate a remarkably similar cognitive environment.⁷²

Dubis rightly claims that while the HB is "highly influential upon 1 Peter," interpretation must consider the author's debt to EJL.⁷³ Achtemeier discusses the similarity in 1:10-12 to "apocalyptic speculation" in the late Second Temple period, namely "the prophetic desire to know the time of God's salvation."⁷⁴ R. Webb illustrates the apocalyptic *topoi* in 1 Peter's discourse as well as his use of non-

67. Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 35–49.

68. Rightly, Achtemeier, "Suffering," 178–80.

69. Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 111.

70. Gärtner, *Temple*, 72–88.

71. On Temple imagery, see esp. ch. 3 in Mbuvi, *Temple*.

72. E.g. that community membership includes abandonment of the old way of life and a new beginning in one's behavior (1:14; 2:1; cf. 1QS IV 9ff.), and that God's judgment begins with the house of God (4:17-18; cf. 1QS IV 26), see Lohse, "Parenesis," 47–52.

73. See Dubis, *Messianic*, 44. E.g., "inheritance...in heaven" (*1 En.* 48:7; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 4:5; *52:6-7*; *4 Ezra* 12:32; 13:26); idea of spirits in prison (3:18-22) in the *Enochic* literature, see Dubis, *Messianic*, 45.

74. E.g., *Dan* 12:6-13; *2 Esd* 4:33-5:13; 1QpHab, see Achtemeier, "Reflections," 144–45.

canonical sources.⁷⁵ Importantly, Webb also recognizes that the author reflects the worldview in certain Early Jewish texts which locate suffering of the elect within the larger cosmic struggle between the spiritual forces of evil and God.⁷⁶ Overall, exploration of EJJ provides an invaluable backcloth to grasp the worldview and theology of the new existence in 1 Peter.

2.2.2 Literary Analysis: Unified, Paraenetic Epistle

While it has been argued that 1 Peter reflects desultory musings,⁷⁷ a baptismal homily,⁷⁸ and separate letters,⁷⁹ scholarship largely agrees that the epistle is a unitary composition.⁸⁰ As Thurén notes, Dibelius' characterization of 1 Peter as "typical paraenesis" signaled a new approach to the letter.⁸¹ Lohse's study of 1 Peter's use of imperatival participles in exhorting the community, similar to texts found at Qumran, bolstered the classification.⁸² Martin demonstrated that 1 Peter fits the literary form⁸³ and social context⁸⁴ of paraenesis. Scholarly consensus has rightly moved to identify 1 Peter as a unified, paraenetic epistle.

75. Apocalyptic *topoi* in 1:3-12; 3:18-22; 4:12-19; 5:6-11, see Webb, "Intertexture," 77-83. For extensive references on parallels to EJJ, see Webb, "Intertexture," 85-86, 89 n. 52, 94. See Webb, "Intertexture," 97 that 1 Pet 1:10-12 and esp. 3:19-21 parallels *1 En.* 9. See Webb, "Intertexture," 104 that 1 Pet 3:18b (esp. vv. 19-20a) is heavily dependent on *1 En.* 6-16.

76. Webb, "Intertexture," 108.

77. The view of Lilje, De Ambroggi, Cranfield, Love, Margot, Stibbs, van Unnik, and Schrage, according to Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 23-24.

78. So Reicke, Brooks, and Beasley-Murray, see Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 33.

79. E.g., Moule, see Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 32. Following Perdelwitz, Streeter, and Windisch, Beare, *First Peter*, 25-28 argues 1 Peter reflects the combination of two compositions, i.e. a baptismal discourse (1:3-4:11), and a letter written to persecuted Christians (4:12-5:11).

80. Rightly, Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 26, 28-29 notes lack of analytical controls plague attempts at delineating sections.

81. See Thurén, *Argument*, 16. See Malherbe, *Moral*, 124 that "paraenesis is moral exhortation in which someone is advised to pursue or abstain from something."

82. Lohse, "Paraenesis," 45.

83. That 1 Peter contains prescriptive speech (with motivational statements), the basic indicator of paraenesis, see Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 97.

84. See Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 103-7. Also, Malherbe, "Exhortation," 255 notes that eschatological instruction to console believers (e.g., 1 Thess 4:18; 5:11) exhibits similarities to the letter of consolation "which was discussed in epistolographic handbooks in terms which reflected its paraenetic character."

Yet much remains unexplained after identifying 1 Peter as a “paraenetic” epistle. Aune demonstrates the complexity of the “letters of exhortation” category, concluding that “many letters of this type exhibit mixtures of various types of exhortation.”⁸⁵ Rightly, Martin recognizes that determination of genre does not “explain how they [individual elements] are arranged and put together nor how the entire document is composed since the paraenetic genre adopts many compositional devices and assumes many different compositional structures.”⁸⁶ Thus, categorizing 1 Peter as “paraenetic” leaves unanswered the author’s understanding of the new existence and the means to fulfill his exhortations.

Martin astutely directs attention to the fact that 1 Peter bases its exhortations on the ontological status of its recipients, “an important compositional device of the paraenetic genre.”⁸⁷ Hinting at the connection between the exhortations and the new existence, Martin suggests that examination of “the relationship of ontological status to exhortation might be fruitful in the literary analysis of other paraenetic documents.”⁸⁸ I agree.

Thurén, however, misses Martin’s key insight. Arguing that the paraenetic commands are “typical” of other paraenetic literature of the period, he analyzes the underlying motivational warrants.⁸⁹ His study fruitfully identifies multiple warrants, but he underemphasizes new existence “in” Christ by essentially placing motives such as God’s will, Christology, anthropology, and general non-religious motifs on the same plane.⁹⁰ I argue that the author articulates a particular understanding of the new existence which, rightly understood, warrants living rightly.

85. Aune, *Literary*, 160–62.

86. Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 119–20.

87. Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 270.

88. Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 275.

89. Thurén, *Argument*, 27.

90. To signal the distinctive formulations of ἐν Χριστῷ, I will refer to “in” Christ in 1 Peter and “in Christ” in Colossians.

2.2.3 Behavior as a Main Concern: “Be Holy” (1:15-16)

Holy living is “a principal concern” of the author.⁹¹ The author’s goal for believers is nothing less than “faithful obedience to the Gospel” despite suffering for their allegiance to Christ.⁹² Obedience is exemplified most clearly in the exhortation “be holy in all your conduct” (1:15). Predicated upon God’s holiness and addressed to the nation of Israel (1:16; cf. Lev 11:44; 19:2), this exhortation assumes believers are God’s people (2:9, 10) and challenges them to reflect the *imago Dei*.⁹³ Moreover, as Green lucidly comments, obedience “serves as the display window of one’s deepest commitments.”⁹⁴ The author facilitates his goal of “holiness” by describing what Christ has done and who believers are as a result.

2.2.4 The Christ-Event, the New Existence, and Paraenesis

1 Peter, containing the general outline of NT Christology,⁹⁵ is “one of the most christocentric writings in the NT.”⁹⁶ The Christology serves as the ground for the paraenetic commands, and as in Colossians, christianizes traditional material.⁹⁷ The author links the ability to be holy with Christ’s atoning death through which believers have died to sin,⁹⁸ a new existence grasped through Jesus’ suffering, death, resurrection, and present glory. Next, I will highlight significant aspects of the new existence in 1 Peter.

91. Rightly, Joel B. Green, “Living,” 312.

92. Dennis, “Cosmology,” 158.

93. Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 276.

94. See Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 267. At a macro level, 1 Peter parallels Paul’s common appeal, “be what you are,” as detailed by Hooker, “Ethics,” 5. But, *how* 1 Peter understands “what you are” is, in many respects, unique from ‘Paul.’

95. Achtemeier, “Reflections,” 141.

96. Achtemeier, “Suffering,” 176.

97. E.g., addition of διὰ τὸν κύριον (2:13) or διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ (2:19). See Lohse, “Paraenesis,” 56.

98. Correctly, Lohse, “Paraenesis,” 58–59.

2.2.4.1 The New Existence: the Individual and the Community

Scholarship has demonstrated that 1 Peter addresses both individual and communal aspects of the new existence. Although rarely utilizing the second-person singular, the author does so in reference to the “soul” (ψυχή) when exhorting believers to abstain from “sinful desires” that “wage war against your soul” (2:11).⁹⁹ The “soul of the community” makes little sense. It is the individual believer’s soul that is engaged in battle,¹⁰⁰ some kind of significant interior struggle.¹⁰¹

While the author does not refer to believers in corporate terms such as “church” (ἐκκλησία), “body” (σῶμα), “body of Christ” (σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ), “Israel” (Ἰσραήλ), or “holy ones” (ἅγιος),¹⁰² he nevertheless develops a thoroughly corporate understanding of the new existence.¹⁰³ Moreover, the author does not refer to believers as a “new creation” (καὶνὴ κτίσις),¹⁰⁴ but he does describe believers as having received a “new birth” (ἀναγεννάω, 1:3, 23). Goppelt insightfully traces this *hapax legomenon* “to a context of motifs emerging from the self-understanding of the Qumran community” and to an independent “Christian tradition preceding 1 Peter” which the author combined replacing “new creation” with “new birth” for a Hellenistic audience.¹⁰⁵

The author metaphorically describes the corporate dimension of the new existence in 1 Peter 2:4-10. As Horrell explains, these verses are “central” in defining what believers are, namely the elect and holy people of God,¹⁰⁶ an identity heretofore

99. Rightly, Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 157 notes that “the ψυχή is the heart of one’s life as a person, the “I” that should be delivered into eternal life.”

100. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 157 n. 13.

101. Rightly, Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 95 n. 63 note ψυχή conveys an “anthropological technical term.” See chapter three.

102. Noted by Boring, *1 Peter*, 203.

103. E.g., forty-five terms and images inferring an ecclesiological identity and fifty-four times believers are addressed with second-person plural pronouns, see Boring, *1 Peter*, 203–5.

104. Cf. 2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15

105. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 81–83.

106. Rightly, Horrell, “Between,” 129.

ascribed only to Israel.¹⁰⁷ As Achtemeier points out, 2:10 quotes Hosea 2:23 describing “the reconstitution of Israel into a renewed people of God,” that the author applies “to the Christian community.”¹⁰⁸ This identity, he argues, serves as “the controlling metaphor in terms of which not only its Christology but indeed its entire theology is expressed.”¹⁰⁹ J. Green notes how the author develops this identity by selecting pivotal points in Israel’s history and articulating their meaning christologically so that the recipients understand themselves corporately as within the story of Israel.¹¹⁰

The author depicts the community as a temple signaling the corporate nature of the new existence and pointing to the author’s cognitive milieu. Elliott rightly interprets the phrase οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ (4:17; cf. 2:5) as an ideological expression of believers’ “true condition before God, their self-consciousness and their calling in society.”¹¹¹ He argues that the metaphor provides identity and thus directs behavior, foregrounding its impact as the “most *comprehensive* means of the Petrine strategy for integrating the kerygmatic and paraenetic elements of the letter, and even more importantly, its theological and its social points of reference.”¹¹² However, Elliott argues that the οἶκος (“household”) terms primarily denote social relationships.¹¹³

I will argue in Chapters 3 and 4 that the author’s language (2:5; cf. 4:17) reflects the cognitive milieus of the HB and EJJ locating the recipients within God’s eschatological plan as God’s household, his temple-community, at the ‘end of days.’ Elliott’s point that “*oikonomia tou theou*” could be “employed to symbolize God’s arrangements for human redemption, the plan and process of divine salvation” moves in the right direction.¹¹⁴ Through the story of Christ, the author christologically defines the meaning of the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ metaphor to serve his larger ideological goal of

107. Horrell, *1 Peter*, 70–73.

108. Cf. Hos. 1:6, 9; 2:3. See Achtemeier, “Reflections,” 143–44.

109. Achtemeier, “Reflections,” 142.

110. Joel B. Green, “Living,” 318.

111. Elliott, *Home*, 227.

112. Elliott, *Home*, 228–29.

113. Elliott, *Home*, 167.

114. Elliott, *Home*, 192.

developing believers' identity as God's people "in" Christ. Best, then, is correct that while οἶκος in 2:5 could be understood as a building or a household, the immediate context of "priesthood" (ἱεράτευμα) and "sacrifices" (θυσίας) indicates that believers are being described as a temple.¹¹⁵ In sum, the author of 1 Peter utilizes a rich combination of corporate images to depict who believers are "in" Christ in order to direct their behavior.

2.2.4.2 ἐν Χριστῷ as the Controlling Center

1 Peter is the only epistle outside the Pauline epistles to use ἐν Χριστῷ.¹¹⁶ Chester and Martin illuminate the connection made between Christ and believers, namely through life "in" Christ (5:14), believers intimately relate to the exalted Christ (2:7; 3:22) both as individuals (1:8-9) and as the elect people of God (2:1-10).¹¹⁷ Lohse concludes that this christological teaching provides the ultimate ground of the paraenesis.¹¹⁸ While the phrase may have originated with and been influenced by Paul, it must be said that ἐν Χριστῷ carries a distinctive meaning in 1 Peter.¹¹⁹

Considering the emphasis on salvation through (διὰ) Christ up to 3:16, it is no surprise then that behavior is inextricably linked to believers' new existence ἐν Χριστῷ.¹²⁰ Bechtler's discussion of 1 Peter 3:13-4:6 helpfully connects behavior to this concept noting that believers are reviled for their behavior, not because it is good, but because it is recognizable as their life ἐν Χριστῷ (cf. 5:10, 14).¹²¹ Howe argues that the preposition ἐν works as a "container schema" signaling a spatial sphere in

115. Rightly, Best, *1 Peter*, 101–2 points out that "the house of God" is frequently used in the HB for "temple" (e.g., Jud 18:31; 2 Sam 12:20), and the "eschatological expectation of a new temple appears frequently in inter-testamental Judaism . . . cf. 1 QS 5:5ff; 8:4ff; 9:3ff; 1QpHab 12:1ff; in 4QpIsa^d frag. 1 the elect are termed stones."

116. Noted by Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 30. Cf. 3:16; 5:10, 14.

117. Chester and Martin, *Theology*, 117.

118. See Lohse, "Parenesis," 56. In agreement, see Joel B. Green, "Living," 316–17.

119. Rightly, Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 30. On Pauline influences, see Horrell, "Reassessment," 34.

120. Cf. 1:3-5, 18-21, 23-25; 2:9-10; 18-25

121. Bechtler, *Following*, 195.

which behavior is to occur, concluding that all the ἐν phrases in 1 Peter dealing with behavior are to be understood spatially.¹²² Howe argues ἐν Χριστῷ is an *image schema*, i.e. a metaphorical container effectively encapsulating all the moral advice.¹²³ While Howe correctly identifies the phrase's moral/social function, she minimizes the causal aspect, namely that *to the author* something real resulted from the Christ-event. The metaphor conveys God's action in history through Christ such that ἐν Χριστῷ believers are a "new birth," a new people arising from God's generative mercy to serve God's eschatological purpose.

Piper insightfully suggests that "a survey of the functions of the addressees' new status, the 'new existence,' is needed" to discover how the gospel in 1 Peter enables believers to live rightly.¹²⁴ Thurén, agreeing with Piper, states that the new existence is central to the connection between Christology and paraenesis.¹²⁵ So, to understand how God's temple community is to live rightly, it is necessary to begin by explicating the author's view of the new existence ἐν Χριστῷ.

2.2.4.3 The Function of Narrative

Horrell notes that the author presents the whole "story" of Christ, beginning before creation, dwelling on his earthly suffering and resurrection, depicting his present reign in heaven and culminating in his return.¹²⁶ Christ's story and the story of the whole world "is comprehensively defined by Christ as its source, goal, and revelatory midpoint."¹²⁷ Moreover, the author intends believers to view Jesus' journey as the paradigm for their journey ἐν Χριστῷ.¹²⁸ As Horrell explains, the author develops an identity for the recipients woven from the "experiences of the people of Israel,"

122. Howe, *Name*, 241.

123. Howe, *Name*, 243, 248.

124. Rightly, Piper, "Hope," 213.

125. Thurén, *Argument*, 200–202.

126. See Horrell, *1 Peter*, 67 and also, Boring, *1 Peter*, 186–99.

127. Boring, *1 Peter*, 183.

128. Rightly, Joel B. Green, "Living," 317.

inviting them to “inhabit a narrative” in order to quietly resist and critique imperial Rome.¹²⁹ This symbolic world centered “in” Christ and developed within the text creates both the individual’s and the community’s understanding of itself and their relationship to the cosmos.¹³⁰ The narrative “in” Christ, then, becomes a “plausibility structure,” a comprehensive understanding of believers’ “place” within both the social world and the heavenly realm in light of the purpose of God.¹³¹ As Dryden helpfully details, the author develops this *heilsgeschichtliche* metanarrative to undergird the paraenesis.¹³² Through the metanarrative, the author explicates the new existence and assigns it meaning as God’s eschatological people thereby directing their behavior.

2.2.4.4 Present Suffering and Future glory (δόξα) “in” Christ

Richard highlights the author’s emphasis on two elements in the “story” of Jesus to provide the pattern for believers’ lives. Christ’s innocent suffering provides the pattern for enduring persecution,¹³³ and his glory provides assurance that believers will also be glorified.¹³⁴ Thurén finds a similar story about Christ’s suffering and glorification in 3:18-22,¹³⁵ arguing that the point of this pericope is “the consequences of Christ’s sufferings for himself, for the addressees, and for those who do not obey (so also in 2:21-24).”¹³⁶ In other words, just as Christ suffered unjustly and was glorified, suffering believers will receive glory. Webb, then, is surely correct that in light of the recipients’ suffering, the “story” of Christ functions to define the readers’ perception of

129. Horrell, “Between,” 128.

130. See Elliott, *Home*, 6. Also, Bechtler, *Following*, 21–22.

131. Rightly, Bechtler, *Following*, 180.

132. See Dryden, *Paraenetic*. Yet, Doering, “Diaspora,” 232 aptly critiques that “he makes too little of Jewish epistolary paraenesis.”

133. Rightly, Richard, “Functional,” 133 notes that the author places the recipient’s suffering in view of the cosmic struggle.

134. Richard, “Functional,” 136.

135. On the journey-idea motif of Christ, see Thurén, *Argument*, 159 n. 229. In agreement, Chester and Martin, *Theology*, 111–15.

136. Thurén, *Argument*, 160.

reality and encourage them to remain steadfast in their behavior.¹³⁷

But suffering is only half of the story. The other aspect, although future, is prefigured in Christ's present glory. Pearson's study, building on the insights of E. Richards, demonstrates the parallels between the different christological passages in their shared theme of suffering/glory.¹³⁸ She rightly concludes that the Isaianic theme of humiliation/vindication, esp. in Isa 53, undergirds this motif.¹³⁹ Thus, Christ's progression from suffering to glory provides the means by which believers are to understand their own suffering.

"Glory" (δόξα), a hope in future salvation associated with Christ's present reign in heaven, figures prominently in 1 Peter's "in" Christ theology. The recipients faced the problem of being slandered, and not receiving δόξα, even though they were living ethically.¹⁴⁰ T. Martin contends that the author adopts an apocalyptic paradigm (5:10),¹⁴¹ and utilizes the eschatological material to locate attainment of δόξα at the end.¹⁴² The author argues that "in" Christ the recipients are now God's people (2:10) who will gain δόξα when Christ's returns (1:13). As I will discuss in Chapters 3 and 4, the author locates the recipients' suffering within a worldview heavily indebted to E.JL. God's salvific actions in history necessarily result in the elect suffering at the "end of days," but the expectation of God's imminent judgment and future δόξα provide hope.

2.2.4.5 Functions of Suffering "in" Christ

The author foregrounds Jesus' humble suffering from unjust persecution as the paradigm for believers' lives "in" Christ (2:21; cf. 3:8-17). How, though, does suffering function in the author's worldview and relate to living rightly? For example,

137. Webb, "Intertexture," 110.

138. E.g., 1:3-12, 18-21; 2:4-8, 21-25; 3:18-22. See Pearson, *Christological*, 3.

139. Pearson, *Christological*, 28-51, 210.

140. Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 11.

141. Rightly, Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 112.

142. Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 113.

the author writes, “for whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin” (4:1b). Applied to the individual, the author may be describing a significant role of suffering for one “in” Christ. Since 1:22 indicates believers are forgiven of sins,¹⁴³ might 4:1 pertain to the moral life? A complicating factor of the new existence, rightly noted by Green, is that “sin remains an option.”¹⁴⁴ Might the author view suffering as a means to battle interior evil (2:11), cease from sinning, and live rightly? I will answer this question in Chapter 3.

References to sharing (κοινωνέω, 4:13; cf. 1:11; 4:1) in Christ’s suffering raise the question of the function of suffering in the new existence. Scholars typically argue that suffering, here as well as elsewhere, is to be understood as: (1) imitation of Christ, (2) mystical union with Christ, and (3) messianic woes.¹⁴⁵ Many argue the author exhorts a conscious decision to model behavior after Christ,¹⁴⁶ and such an interpretation fits well with 2:21 where Christ’s suffering is presented as a “pattern” for believers. In the mystical union interpretation, suffering is viewed through the Pauline lens of baptism into Christ. Best dismisses this view arguing that no “trace of the Pauline conception of the togetherness of Christians with Christ in his body is to be found in 1 Peter.”¹⁴⁷ In Chapter 3, I will discuss whether this Pauline concept is found in the author’s theology. Dubis, in support of the messianic woes interpretation, argues that certain streams of Judaism contained the motif of apocalyptic determinism in which the righteous must suffer prior to the Messiah’s return.¹⁴⁸ Dubis develops a persuasive argument that in 1 Peter (1:6; cf. 4:12-19) believers must suffer in order to fulfill God’s eschatological plan.

143. That the perfect participle ἡγνικότες indicates inward purification of the soul through repentance, see Selwyn, *First Peter*, 149; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 74; Davids, *1 Peter*, 76; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 123.

144. Rightly, Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 272.

145. Noted by Best, *1 Peter*, 162–63.

146. E.g., Selwyn, *First Peter*, 221; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 262; Davids, *1 Peter*, 165–66.

147. Best, *1 Peter*, 162.

148. See Dubis, *Messianic*, 186–88.

An item to note here is the multivalence and centrality of suffering in the author's theology. Suffering plays a key role in: Christ's passion, identity as God's people, believers' current tests at the hands of the ungodly, and fulfillment of God's purpose prior to Christ's return. Yet, the question remains what role, if any, suffering plays in conquering sin and living rightly (2:24; 4:1)? I will address these issues in Chapter 3 and 4.

2.2.4.6 Cognition “in” Christ

What role does believer's agency play in living rightly? In 4:1, the author exhorts, “since therefore Christ suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves also with the same attitude (ἐννοίαν) for whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin.” Bechtler argues that

since nothing is said of the mental state of Christ in the immediate context, perhaps the reader is to think of the statement in 2:23 that Christ trusted God amid his suffering. What is more likely, however, is that the ‘thought’ is not Christ's at all but an insight to be drawn from the letter's recitation in 3:18-22 of Christ's suffering.¹⁴⁹

I appreciate Bechtler's discussion of “attitude” (ἐννοίαν), but I do not agree. The author wants believers to adopt Christ's attitude (ἐννοίαν) because it enables them to live rightly. In Chapter 3, I will identify the referent of Christ's ἐννοίαν, and I will explain how the author connects suffering from persecution, adopting Christ's ἐννοίαν, and living according to God's will (4:2).

2.2.5 Summary: Review of 1 Peter Scholarship

Despite recognizing that 1 Peter is a unified, paraenetic composition, scholarship has struggled to tie together its various metaphors and connect theology with paraenesis. While recognizing the epistle's robust Christology, scholarship has done less well in

149. See Bechtler, *Following*, 196.

articulating the author's understanding of the new existence. Part of the problem may lie with the fact that it has focused primarily in a few areas: the *Sitz im Leben* of the suffering recipients, the meaning of Christ's descent (3:18-22), the origin and function of the household code, and the quest for "the" controlling metaphor, e.g. diaspora, Israel, and election. As a result, much work is left undone in explicating the author's theology and the role of suffering as it pertains to living rightly.

CHAPTER 3

1 PETER: NEW EXISTENCE AND RIGHTEOUS LIVING

Chapter Overview

This chapter seeks to detail 1 Peter's understanding of the new existence and the means to live rightly. It will do so by attending to the four questions set out on page 9. The chapter will proceed as follows: In section 3.1, I will discuss the author's worldview in which suffering by the elect is part-and-parcel with the new existence. The pattern of ideas established here will impact each of the four areas under investigation. In section 3.2, I will analyze the universal problems facing humankind which the Christ-event addresses. This lays the foundation for understanding the author's view of the "flesh" of the elect before and after their faith in Christ. This, I argue, will illuminate aspects of the means to live rightly. The exhortation to "put off" old behaviors will face rather different challenges if, after atonement, aspects of the old existence remain in the elect. In section 3.3, I will detail the author's depiction of Christ as *the* Suffering Servant of Isaiah, demonstrating that the Isaianic Servant provides the interpretive grid for the Christ-event. Jesus' suffering, in some sense, fulfills the HB and also serves as the paradigm for the elect whose own suffering plays many parts in God's economy. This will highlight the author's "inspirational" hermeneutic and provide a point of comparison with the hermeneutics employed by the author(s) of the *Hodayot*. In section 3.4, I will detail the present effects of the Christ-event on the new existence. In section 3.5, I will describe one of the primary means to live rightly: humbly entrusting oneself to God in the midst of unjust suffering, the model exemplified by Jesus. I will argue that suffering caused by external persecution serves as an instrument to ameliorate interior evil desires and plays a key role in living

rightly. After summarizing the analysis, I will proceed in chapter four to locate antecedents for such views in the *Hodayot*.

3.1 Suffering as God's Eschatological People at 'the End' (1:20; 4:7)

In the worldview of the author of 1 Peter, status as God's elect at the "end of the ages" (1:20; 4:7) necessitates their suffering. The *leitmotif* of suffering throughout the epistle stems not only from the recipients' context but also from the author's worldview and hermeneutic. I will discuss five aspects of the elect's suffering reflected in the epistle. Suffering: (1) arises from God's sovereign purposes, not from sins, and is thus "undeserved"; (2) provides a witness for God, (3) is an opportunity for "doing good," (4) is an aspect of being God's eschatological people living at the 'end of the ages,' and (5) serves to test the genuineness of faith.¹

3.1.1 Suffering is God's Will/Calling (2:19-21; 3:9, 17; 4:14, 19; 5:9)

In 1 Peter, the elect are called to suffer revilement for their good behavior at the hands of the ungodly according to the sovereign will of God. The *inclusio* at 2:19-20 illustrates this. Opening with τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις and closing with τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῶ, the point is that χάρις "grace/favor" with God is doing good while suffering unjustly.² This *inclusio* serves as the referent for the next verse, "For to this you were called" (2:21a). The referent to "in this" (εἰς τοῦτο) is "grace" (χάρις) in 2:19-20, defined as bearing up under unjust suffering for doing good.³ The causal conjunction γὰρ in 2:21

1. I will discuss a sixth aspect of suffering in section 3.5.

2. Noting that χάρις, more than a formula, frames the letter (1:2; 5:12), Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 200–201 writes that the "paraenetic references to grace in 2:19f. are clarified by the letter's whole understanding of grace, so now they are clarified finally by the christological foundation that follows."

3. Butler, "Grace," 59.

signals the motivation, a “calling” (ἐκλήθητε).⁴ Election is the basis for suffering; suffering accompanies faith “in” Christ.⁵ Within this calling, the causal conjunction ὅτι points to the historical suffering of Christ.⁶ Believers “in” Christ are called to suffer for Christ’s historical suffering serves as the paradigm for their lives.

Christ’s and believers’ “story” occur according to God’s sovereign will (κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, 4:19; cf. 3:17). In 3:9, the basis (ὅτι) for the exhortation not to repay evil in kind is, again, God’s sovereign calling (ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο ἐκλήθητε, 3:9). As support, the author explicitly quotes from Psa 34:12-16 and applies it to the recipients (3:10-12). The author’s use of the HB undergirds the exhortation to suffer rightly.

Suffering in the name of Christ is certain (4:14).⁷ Thus, the author depicts all believers throughout the κόσμος as experiencing the same kind of suffering (5:9). This is seen in the pericope in 4:12-19 which opens with the bold statement that believers should not be surprised by their suffering (4:12). “Why?” Because suffering is “according to God’s will” (4:19).⁸

4:12 Suffering is expected.

4:13 Rejoice when κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν.

4:14 Revilement for Christ is certain. You are blessed (μακάριοι).

4:15-16 Suffer ὡς Χριστιανός.

4:17-18 But, know that judgment is coming.

4:19 Suffering is God’s will, trust God.

The argument, then, begins by assuming suffering is God’s will.

In 1 Peter, the elect’s suffering is unjust. It is not caused by God to lead the elect to repentance because they are already redeemed, forgiven, and born again (1:3-

4. Cf. “called” 1:15; 2:9, 21; 3:6, 9; 5:10; See, Thurén, *Argument*, 68. That the conjunction, γὰρ, also indicates a broad cause or reason, see *BDAG*, entry 1599; See also, Porter, *Idioms*, 237.

5. Hill, “Baptism,” 185.

6. E.g. ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (2:21). See *BDAG*, entry 5414. That “the ground which ὅτι gives is based on an event or fact (Louw and Nida 1988: 89.33), and usually stands in a direct causal relation to the main sentence (‘because’),” see Thurén, *Argument*, 66.

7. See Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 307 that “εἰ . . . combined with a verb in the indicative mood (ὁνειδίζεσθε), . . . has the force not so much of ‘if’ as of ‘when’.”

8. Filson, “Partakers,” 405.

23) “at the end of the ages” (1:20). God, sovereignly, has revealed that the telos of the cosmos (1:5, 10, 12, 20) is near (4:7) when He will judge the ungodly (1:17; 4:5; 4:17) who persecute the elect unjustly. So, suffering is only for a “little while” (ὀλίγος, 5:10) until Christ’s glorious return (1:7, 13; 2:12; 4:13; 5:1, 4). Revelation serves to encourage believers enduring unjust persecution (5:12). The author focuses on God’s intimate concern for the recipients (5:7) and promises that God will restore the elect by His mighty hand (5:6). Thus, the author explains that the elect do suffer unjustly, but only for a limited time and according to God’s sovereign plan.

3.1.2 Suffering and “Doing Good” (2:12, 15, 20; 3:6, 8-17; 4:4)

In the worldview of 1 Peter, faith in Christ, suffering, and “doing good” are inextricably intertwined. It is “God’s will” that believers “do good” while suffering (2:15; 3:17; 4:19). This theme of “doing good” (ἀγαθοποιέω, 2:12, 14, 20; 3:6) in the name of Christ (4:14) permeates the epistle.⁹ But how could 1 Peter’s recipients, scattered as they were across Asia Minor experience similar adverse responses to their profession of faith in Christ?¹⁰ Might Nero’s gruesome spectacle provide the precursor to imperial persecution of Christians?¹¹ Why would the author *expect* suffering?

Persecution frequently accompanied proclamation of the gospel. Opposition from pagan and Jewish quarters stemmed from a mixture of social, political, economic,

9. *Contra*, Balch, “Hellenization,” 96 who claims that 1 Peter urges acculturation with Greco-Roman values at odds with the HB. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 466–67 recognizes, rightly, that “good” behavior does not entail Christians abandoning the call to do God’s will by adopting Greco-Roman mores (e.g., to be holy, 1:15-16). Rightly, Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 176–77 n. 58 concludes that Balch’s position “is rendered impossible, for example, by such passages as 1:14, 18; 4:1-4.” Also, I disagree with Winter, “Benefactors” that “doing good” in 2:14-15 refers to the practice of benefaction. Rightly, Sandnes, “Revised,” 401 concludes that 1 Peter “re-works the moral of celebrated citizens and applies this generally to all believers.”

10. That suffering for the recipients of 1 Peter was daily, “a constant and lingering sort,” see Beker, *Suffering*, 48.

11. According to Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.44, Nero’s targeting of Christians in 64 C.E. appears to have been localized to Rome. According to Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 29 n. 285, no reliable evidence exists of official persecution prior to Nero. According to Molthagen, “Lage,” 439, 1 Peter represents the *Sitz im Leben* of official persecution under Domitian.

and theological factors. An issue facing believers was the prevalence of pagan and imperial events integral to family and communal life.¹² At the nexus of politics and power, stood the emperor cult. Christians could hardly have escaped its influence, even in Asia Minor.¹³ The cult functioned to connect local cities to the Roman Empire, empower local authorities faithful to Rome, and ensure stability by uniting diverse peoples in a common cultural practice, all the while allowing worship of local deities.¹⁴ Pagan cultic events (religious celebrations, guild feasts, and civic festal days) were not only ubiquitous, but probably involved practices listed in 1 Peter's vice list (4:3).¹⁵ Believers, called to holy behavior (1:15), including worship of no other gods, would have faced intractable dilemmas in the course of daily life, illustrated by 1 Pet 4:3. "Doing good" "surprises" pagans (4:4). Even quiet avoidance of familial and public functions resulted in persecution because it would have been interpreted as a slight against the gods imperiling the social order.¹⁶ "Rejection of idolatry" constituted a threat to the social fabric and thus "made such a conflict inevitable."¹⁷

Even before believers stopped attending civic functions, they were being accosted. The earliest NT documents indicate that preaching and profession of Jesus as "the Christ" resulted in opposition.¹⁸ Revilement and slander by Jewish and pagan

12. According to Neugebauer, "Deutung," 62, 1 Pet 4:3 and 1 Cor 8-10 represent a similar and perennial issue for believers, namely the prevalence of temple meals, idolatry, and activities associated with such feasts.

13. For example, Price, *Rituals*, 58 notes that "priests of Augustus are found in some thirty-four different cities in Asia-Minor."

14. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 28.

15. For examples, see Elliott, *1 Peter*, 724 n. 466. See also, Davids, *1 Peter*, 151.

16. Neugebauer, "Deutung," 62-63 points to 4:3 and Christians' withdrawal from pagan social activities as the cause of social hostility. That religion was a public affair in antiquity with cities prescribing attendance at festivals, see Price, *Rituals*, 121. See also, Barclay, "Conflict," 515.

17. See Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 28 n. 272. That an "imperial initiative" (*kaiserlichen Initiative*) stands behind local persecution faced by the recipients, see Molthagen, "Lage," 454ff and, in agreement, Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 2ff. See Horrell, "Between," 137-41 for the view that the *Sitz im Leben* of 1 Peter bears similarities with the context described in Pliny's letters, i.e. "Christians are coming to trial, and are executed on the basis solely of acknowledging the name Χριστιανός." Cf. Horrell, "Χριστιανός," 374-76.

18. Considering the suffering *Sitz im Leben* described in 1 Peter, Neugebauer, "Deutung," 65 views Paul's description of believers in Thessalonica (1 Thess 2:14f) as a parallel. See Hill, "Baptism," 186 that 1 Thess 3:2f. indicates suffering by Christians is inevitable. See also, Barnett, *History*, 28-30.

neighbors alike was not an uncommon response to “preaching the good news” (εὐαγγελίζω).¹⁹ From the beginning of the missionary movement, persecution often accompanied profession of Christ. A reason for this is that believers’ suffering mirrors the cosmic battle between the διάβολος (5:8) and God.²⁰ Thus, believers throughout the “world” (κόσμος, 5:9) are experiencing suffering or are liable to it. So, the recipients’ experiences were not peculiar to Asia Minor, but instead accompany faith “in” Christ.

3.1.3 Suffering as Witness

In 1 Peter, believers’ suffering serves as a witness to pagans of God’s mercy, leading to either conversion or condemnation.²¹ This motif is drawn from Isaiah where suffering by God’s people is portrayed, possibly for the first time in the HB, in a positive light.²²

3.1.3.1 Witness Leading to Condemnation

In Isaiah, God’s people are evidence of God’s merciful salvation. God mocks the craftsmen of idols (Isa 44:12-18); their creation brings them “shame” (LXX αἰσχύνομαι; MT בִּישׁ, Isa 44:9-11 [3x]), not salvation.²³ In contrast, Israel is God’s witness (Isa 43:9-10) and will never “be put to shame” (Isa 45:17)²⁴ for they demonstrate that the LORD has “redeemed” his people (Isa 44:22, LXX λυτρόομαι; MT

19. That new believers in Thessalonika “suffered much at the hands of their contemporaries (1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; 3:3-4),” see Gene L. Green, *Thessalonians*, 47–51. That “Paul and his colleagues . . . had experienced suffering and had been shamefully treated at Philippi,” see Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 92–93 who notes that their visit to Thessalonika was like the one to Philippi.

20. Nauck, “Freude,” 80.

21. Beker, *Suffering*, 50.

22. Rightly, Simundson, “Suffering,” 222.

23. Cf. Isa 42:17; 44:9, 11; 45:16, 24 ; 65:13; 66:5.

24. Cf. Isa 45:17; 49:23; 50:7 [referring to the Servant]; 65:13; 66:5. Cognate κατασχύνω in Isa. 54:4 which is also used in 1 Peter.

לג, Isa 43:1).²⁵ They are “precious” (LXX ἔντιμος; MT קִיָּאָר) and “honored” (LXX δοξάζω; MT כָּבֵד, Isa 43:4) in his sight. In this way, Israel’s suffering, ultimately, is transformed into a witness that condemns those who reject God. In 1 Peter, believers are the “people of God” (λαὸς θεοῦ, 2:10), a title given to redeemed Israel (LXX λαός μου; MT עַמִּי־אֲתָהּ, Isa. 51:16). In 1 Peter, those who reject Christ, like those in Isaiah who reject God, will be “put to shame” (κατασχύνω, 3:16; cf. 2:8), yet “redeemed” believers (1:18), will never be put to shame (κατασχύνω, 2:6; cf. αἰσχύνομαι, 4:16). Thus, believers’ behavioral witness serves to silence the foolish at the judgment (2:12, 15).

3.1.3.2 Witness Leading to Conversion

In Isaiah, witness of God’s ἔλεος leads the wicked to repent. God repeatedly declares that Israel and his Servant “are my witness” to all the nations (Isa 43:10).²⁶ Suffering serves as a witness of God’s mercy leading the nations to repentance and worship of God.²⁷ The Servant’s suffering is transformed into a light of salvation to the nations (Isa 42:6; 49:6). In an echo of Exod 19:33, Isaiah points out that God will have ἔλεος on the repentant wicked:

See, I made him a witness (μαρτύριον) to the peoples, a leader and commander for the peoples. . . . let the wicked forsake their way, and the unrighteous their thoughts; let them return to the LORD, that he may have mercy (ἔλεος) on them, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. (LXX, Isa 55:4-7)

Suffering, by God’s ἔλεος, may lead to redemption.

In 1 Peter, suffering by God’s people also serves as a witness to God’s mercy leading some to repent. Firstly, as the Suffering Servant, Jesus secures redemption from sins (2:21-25). Secondly, believers’ “good conduct” (ἀγαθοποιέω, 3:16) in

25. Cf. Isa 44:22, 23; 51:11; 52:3; 63:9. See, too, “redemption” applied titularly of God as Redeemer, Isa 41:14; 43:14; 44:24. And applied titularly to Israel “The Redeemed”, Isa 62:12.

26. On the parallel between Neo-Babylonian court proceedings and the court room scene of Isa 43:9-13, see Holtz, “Witnesses”. Cf. Isa 43:12; 44: 8. For the Suffering Servant as “witness” to the nations, see Isa 55:4.

27. Simundson, “Suffering,” 222.

suffering serves as a witness and may lead some to faith in Christ.²⁸ For example, the nonverbal witness of a Christian wife's behavior may "win over" (κερδαίνω, 3:1) an unbelieving husband.²⁹ Believers' ἀπολογία (3:15) may provide a "witness" to the "hope" that believers have leading some to faith.³⁰ This "hope" (ἐλπίς) brings to mind God's "mercy" (ἔλεος, 1:3), a "generative act" in believers' "new birth."³¹

Reference to God's ἔλεος recalls God's proclamation to Moses, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy (ἔλεος) on whom I will show mercy (ἔλεος)" (Exod 33:19). The author powerfully reinforces this allusion by quoting Exod 19:5-6 to describe believers' new identity (cf. 1 Pet. 2:9). In addition, he describes God as having shown "mercy" (ἐλεέω) to believers by making them the "people of God" (λαὸς θεοῦ, 2:10), alluding to Hosea 1:6, 9; 2:1, 23. Despite meriting judgment (4:3, 19), believers received God's ἔλεος. Repentance, then, offers a new beginning and the call to be a witness to God's ἔλεος, a generative and redeeming ἔλεος beyond comprehension.³²

3.1.4 Suffering and the End (1:6, 17; 2:23; 3:14; 4:5, 7, 17; 5:8)

In 1 Peter's worldview, suffering by the elect precedes God's final judgment. Nauck is surely correct that the author views historical events in light of the eschaton which breaks into the everyday affairs of believers.³³ Preceding judgment is a time of distress, trial, and testing of God's people. In the author's worldview, suffering "is necessary"

28. Rightly, Lohse, "Parenthesis," 58–59 notes that by "their love and good deeds they are to bear witness to the truth of their faith (2:12, 15, 20: 3:1, 6, 17; 4:7-11, 15, et passim). Also, Seland, "Resident," 565–611.

29. See Spencer, "Pedagogical," 109–19. See also, Elliott, *Home*, 108, 111.

30. *Contra* Balch, *Wives*, 87, 90. Rightly, Thurén, *Argument*, 218 notes "... if the addressees live aright, the Gentiles will cease to blame them and their God, and begin to praise him instead."

31. That ἀναγεννάω ("born again") combined with ἔλεος points to God's generative act, an altogether new origin, see Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 94–95.

32. Regarding "new birth" (1:3), Neugebauer, "Deutung," 70 points to the Gospels' portrayal of the Apostle Peter's denying Jesus after his arrest. In this light, 1 Peter's "hope" springs from a new beginning due to Christ's resurrection, especially after utter failure and unworthiness.

33. Nauck, "Freude," 80.

(εἰ δέον, 1:6).³⁴ Believers do not seek out suffering, but like Jesus who in Gethsemane asked God to remove the suffering *if* it were his will, believers are to desire to do God's will.³⁵ Believers, then, should not be surprised by their suffering, but instead view it as from God's hand, accepting it with "joy" (ἀγαλλιάω, 1:6) and "rejoicing" (χαίρω, 4:12) because it is a "prelude to the joy at the coming of God's glory . . . the future coming of God's universal kingdom and glory."³⁶ I will discuss this more fully in the next section.

3.1.5 Suffering as "Tests" and "Testing" (1:6-7; 4:12)

The author refers to the recipients' suffering as a "trial" or "test" (πειρασμός, 1:6; 4:12). The theme of suffering as a test of faith (to prove genuine) runs throughout the HB,³⁷ Apocrypha,³⁸ and Pseudepigrapha.³⁹ Firstly, a test can provide a moment in time in which a person (or nation) demonstrates their commitment to God. The concept of God as one who "tests" faith arrives early in the Hebrew scriptures. In Gen 22:1, God "tests" (נִסָּה) Abraham's faith by commanding him to sacrifice his only son, Isaac. The test demonstrates Abraham's faith in and obedience to God. Psalm 26:2 and others typify "testing" as a thing by which the genuineness of faith is demonstrated.⁴⁰ This resonates with the use of πειρασμός in 1 Peter 1:6; 4:12.

34. In agreement with Dubis, *Messianic*, 63–75 that δεῖ (1:6) indicates the necessity of suffering. See also, Jobes, *1 Peter*, 95. However, textual variants in 1:6 leave open the question whether this is a first class condition. As the textual notes in Burer, *et. al*, *NET*, 602 n. 12 say, "The oldest and best witnesses lack the verb (κ* B, along with 1505 pc), but most MSS (i⁷² κ² A C P Ψ 048 33 1739 Ū) have ἐστίν here (*estin*, "[if] it is [necessary]")."

35. Correctly, Neugebauer, "Deutung," 77 links Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane to 1 Peter's view of suffering.

36. Beker, *Suffering*, 49.

37. HB uses of "testing" (MT נִסָּה; LXX πειράζω) of person's faith/obedience: (1) testing by God, cf. Gen 22:1; Exod 15:25; 16:4; 20:20; Deut 8:2, 16; 13:4; 28:56; 33:8; Jdg 2:22; 3:1, 4; 2 Chr. 32:31; Psa 26:2; Eccl 2:1; 7:23; Dan 1:12, 14. (2) testing by other person(s), cf. Dan 1:12, 14.

38. Cf. Jdt. 8:12, 25, 26; Tbs. 12:14 (13); 4 Ma. 9:7; 15:16; Wis. 1:2; 2:17, 24; 3:5; 11:9; 12:26; 19:5; Sir. 4:17; 13:11; 18:23; 37:27; 39:4.

39. Sibyl. 5:385; ApocSed 8:4; T. Dan 1:3; T. Joseph 16:3; TSolA 15:11; Aris. 1:2, 264, 289, 322; Jub. 10:9; HisRec 2:9; 4:1, 2; 19:1, 2; 21:5; 4Ma. 9:7; 15:16; AEJ 1:3.

40. See also Psa 66:10. God "tests" (נִסָּה) to "refine" (צָרָה) like silver. The test "proves" the true, valuable quality of that which is tested.

In light of the work by M. Dubis, I will only highlight his salient conclusions and refer to his extended discussion on the topic of suffering, including suffering as a *πειρασμός* in 1 Peter.⁴¹ Through exploration of Jewish texts prior to 1 Peter, Dubis demonstrates the existence within Judaism, especially within apocalyptic texts, of the view that the period preceding eschatological judgment would be a time of trials and tribulations for the elect. An aspect of the testing was to test/prove, through suffering, the genuineness of the faith of the elect. Dubis explains, correctly I think, that the testing terms in 1 Pet 1:6-7; 4:12-19 function similarly. The author views suffering as a result of believers living in the eschatological end times and as an opportunity to demonstrate or prove the genuineness of faith.⁴²

Secondly, a *πειρασμός*, and the suffering which accompanies it, may provide a process by which faith is refined. 1 Peter 1:7 refers to a divine purpose of “trials,” namely *ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως*. The term *δοκίμιον* occurs only here and in James 1:3 in the NT. Its usage in Proverbs 27:21 and Psalm 12:6 (LXX 11:7) illustrate *δοκίμιον* as a “method, not a thing.”⁴³ While *δοκίμιον* may refer to a result, that is faith which is proven genuine, in 1 Pet 1:7, as in James 1:3, it likely contains the nuance of a means of purification.⁴⁴ Viewed in this light, *τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως* refers to refined/purified faith resulting in praise at the revelation of Jesus Christ.⁴⁵ Recognition of this nuance is important because it focuses attention on suffering as a vital process within God’s economy by which His elect are prepared for a coming *σωτηρία*. As I will discuss in section 3.5, 1 Peter 4:1 builds on of this idea in which suffering provides a process for refinement of believers.

41. See discussion in, Dubis, *Messianic*, 76–95 on the HB and extrabiblical uses of *πύρωσις* and *πειρασμός* as the backdrop to the metalurgical imagery in 1 Pet 1:6-7; 4:12 and testing the genuineness of faith.

42. However, Dubis, *Messianic*, 86–87 does not explore how suffering in 1 Peter relates to cessation of sinning nor explore the *Hodayot* as an antecedent.

43. Noted by Bigg, *St Peter*, 104. C.f., Zech 13:9 for verbal idea of *δοκιμάζω* as “refining.”

44. Noting similarity with Prov 27:21, Burchard, *Jakobusbrief*, 56 interprets “the *δοκίμιον* of faith” as a means of producing endurance.

45. Bigg, *St Peter*, 104.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted important aspects of the worldview of the author of 1 Peter. While the author addresses suffering recipients, the multivalent discussion of suffering stems in large part from the *author's* worldview. As God's eschatological people living at the "end of the ages," believers should expect unjust persecution at the hands of pagans. Arising from God's sovereign purposes, "undeserved" suffering provides an opportunity for "doing good," a witness for God. Part-and-parcel with identity as God's eschatological people living in the 'end of days,' suffering serves to both test the genuineness of faith and to refine faith for a coming salvation. At the end of the chapter, I will discuss a sixth aspect of suffering in the author's theology, namely that submitting to unjust suffering serves as an instrument by which interior evil desires are defeated enabling the elect to live rightly. Prior to this, though, it is necessary to develop a picture of the new existence, and this is best achieved by beginning with existence *prior* to the "new birth."

3.2 Universal Problems (ποτέ)

The label "new existence" indicates a change. The Christ-event addresses two problems, "sins" and the "flesh," which existed prior to faith "in" Christ. But what impact did atonement have on these problems? This will be addressed in section 3.4. Now, however, I seek to understand the nature of the problems.

3.2.1 The Problem of "Sins"

Recognizing that 1 Peter is a unitary composition with a coherent argument aimed at establishing a proper understanding of the new existence,⁴⁶ aids in identification of 1

46. 1 Peter's structure and section breaks continue to be debated. See discussion in Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor*, 26, 28–29. I agree with Talbert, "Plan," 148 that 1:3–2:10 functions as a coherent section signaled by *inclusio* in 1:2–3; 2:9–10 ("chosen"; "mercy").

Peter 2:21-25 as the heart of 1 Peter's theology.⁴⁷ Here the author addresses christology, atonement, the new existence, and behavior congruent with that existence. Moreover, the author's theology in 2:21-25 radiates throughout the epistle. As I will discuss in section 3.5, intra-textual quotes and allusions occurring after 2:21-25, serve, like a network of arteries, to return the recipients back to the epistle's theological heart.

I begin with 2:24a not only because 2:21-25 sits at the heart of 1 Peter's theology but also because it refers to "sins" and contains the striking image of Christ on a "tree." The theme of "sins" occurs throughout 1 Peter,⁴⁸ and the term, ἁμαρτία, is used in two ways. In 2:22, 2:24a, and 3:18, "sins" refers to something objective in nature which Christ did not have, but which he removed. In 2:24b and 4:1, "sinning" refers to potential, yet unrealized acts (cf. 2:20).

Quoting from Isa 53:4,5,11,12 (LXX) and alluding to Deut 21:23 (LXX),⁴⁹ the author emphatically states Christ "himself bore our sins in his body on the tree," (2:24a). Isaiah 53,⁵⁰ as well as many ideas throughout the HB, reside within 2:21-25.⁵¹

1 Peter 2	Isa. 53 (LXX)
22	9
23	3
24	4
	11
	12
	5
	Deut. 21 (LXX)
	23
	Isa. 53 (LXX)
25	6

In Isaiah, "sins" (ἁμαρτίας) are a core problem facing humanity.⁵² Isaiah proclaims God's coming judgment on all because the whole earth "has sinned" against God (Isa 24:5). Therefore, the earth is under a consuming "curse" (ἄρα, LXX; קללה, MT), and

47. Rightly, Jobes, *1 Peter*, 192.

48. E.g. 6x, three of which are in quotes from Isa 53.

49. Following Horrell, *1 Peter*, 31–32 in definitions of quotations, allusions, and echoes. See also, Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 35–36.

50. I note that "Isaiah 53" refers to 52:13-53:12.

51. Langkammer, "Jes 53," 93.

52. Cf. ἁμαρτία in Isa 53: 4,5,6,10,11,12 [2x].

the people must “suffer for their guilt” (24:6). In a charge of universal transgression (Isa 59:12), Isaiah alludes to God’s curse upon all humanity for the sin of Adam and Eve (Gen 3:14-24). Their first “father” sinned (Isa 43:27).⁵³ The earth reels like a drunkard under the weight of its transgressions (Isa 24:20). Rebellion, and thus judgment, are cosmological in scope. Not only “the inhabitants” (Isa 24:17) and “the kings” of the earth (Isa 24:21), but also the “world of heaven” (τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) faces God’s judgment (Isa 24:21). For on the day of the Lord, “they will be gathered together like prisoners in a pit; they will be shut up in a prison, and after many days they will be punished” (Isa 24:22).

The sins of humanity are a core problem in 1 Peter emphasized by the contrast of Christ with humanity. The δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, Christ suffered once to remove sins (3:18). Without blemish or defect, Christ was morally perfect (1:19). Quoting from Isa 53:9, 1 Peter explains “he committed no sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth” (2:22). This innocence of Jesus contrasts sharply with his mode of execution.⁵⁴

Jesus hanging from the “tree” (ξύλον) is striking because of his guilt/lessness.⁵⁵ In Deut 21:22-23, hanging from a “tree” is punishment for sin that deserved death (ἁμαρτία κρίμα θανάτου, LXX Deut 21:22). Moreover, the accused is considered “cursed” (καταράομαι) by God.⁵⁶ The Temple Scroll testifies to the scandal of such a death. It commands “you shall hang him (a guilty person) on a tree and he will die” (11Q19 LXIV 8; cf. ll. 10-11). Moreover, “the hanged upon the tree are considered accursed of God and of men” (l. 12).⁵⁷ In this midrash of Deut 21:22-23, death upon a tree indicates both guilt and God’s curse. Roman crucifixion, likewise, served to

53. Note that MT and LXX differ. Hebrew text refers to “father” (אב) in the singular while LXX reads “fathers” (οἱ πατέρες). If singular, “your first father” (אבִיךָ הָרִאשִׁון) could refer to a patriarch and/or Adam.

54. Wilcox, “‘Tree’,” 93.

55. ξύλον occurs 5x in NT for cross. In each instance, the scandal of crucifixion is underscored. E.g. Acts 5:30; 10:39; 13:29; Gal 3:13.

56. Davids, *1 Peter*, 113.

57. See Yadin, “Peshar,” 6 who translated 11QTemple Scroll^a = 11Q19 64:6-13. As cited in Wilcox, “‘Tree’,” 89.

induce shame because it indicated guilt.⁵⁸ Allusion to the cross, then, simultaneously accentuates the guilt of humanity and highlights the scandal of Jesus' innocent death.

Lastly, the scope of the problem of "sins" includes both author and recipients.⁵⁹ When describing whose "sins" Christ bore, the author changes from the second person plural "your" (ὁμεῖς) to the first person plural "our" (ἡμεῖς, 2:24). Christ's vicarious suffering (2:21-25), writes the author, removed "our" (ἡμῶν) sins. Thus, apostle and recipients alike faced condemnation for "sins."⁶⁰

3.2.2 The Problem of the "flesh" (σάρξ)

What is the root cause of "sins"? Unlike Rom 1-2, 1 Peter makes no distinction between Jew and Gentile.⁶¹ Instead, the epistle reflects an ethical dualism (division of humanity according to vices and virtues) arising out of a soteriological dualism (division of humanity based on faith in or rejection of Christ).⁶² The author interprets Christ as the Isaianic cornerstone (Isa 28:16; cf. Psa 118:22) and links believers with him (2:4, 6-7).⁶³ In so doing, the author identifies believers with Christ's election (θεῶ ἐκλεκτὸν, 2:4) and divides humanity into two distinct groups, i.e. the "elect" (ἐκλεκτός, 1:1; 2:9) and the "unbelievers" (οἱ ἀπιστοῦντες, 2:7).⁶⁴ The author consistently disparages the recipients' former, "futile ways" inherited from their ancestors (1:18) describing it as a life of debauchery (4:3-4). Virtues characterize the elect (1:15)⁶⁵ while vices condemn the ungodly (1:14).⁶⁶ Prior to faith in Christ, then, some aspect of human existence leads all to commit "sins."

58. Osborne, "Suffering," 400.

59. E.g. 2:24a ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ("he who himself bore our sins").

That the author reflects Isa 53:4, 11, and 12, see Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 201.

60. Michaels, *1 Peter*, 147. See, also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 533.

61. See Bigg, *St Peter*, 41. See also, Horrell, *1 Peter*, 72-73, 102-5.

62. On "dualisms," see Frey, "Patterns," 284.

63. Bechtler, *Following*, 186.

64. Cf. 4:18, "the righteous" (ὁ δίκαιος) and "the ungodly" (ὁ ἀσεβής). See Jobes, *1 Peter*, 113.

65. Cf. 1:22; 2:1, 12; 3:2, 8, 9; 4:8, 9; 5:5.

66. Cf. 3:4-5; 4:15.

The author does not elaborate on the etiology of “sins,” yet he infers a link between “fleshly” existence and “sins.” All humanity is “flesh” (σάρξ, 1:24; cf. LXX Isa 40:6, 8), suffers from “evil desires” (ἐπιθυμίας, 1:14; cf. 2:11; 4:2, 3), and lives for “human desires,” not “God’s will” (θέλημα θεοῦ, 4:2). Thus, all humanity commits sins. In section 3.4.3.4, I will investigate the σάρξ and the ἐπιθυμίας in depth including the impact of atonement on both. The main element to grasp now is simply this: all humanity is σάρξ, commits “sins,” and faces judgment.

I now turn to examine the author’s use of the HB to interpret the Christ-event and the community’s circumstances. This indicates a particular hermeneutic and pattern of thought, and the distinctive aspects of this hermeneutic provides a means of comparison with that found in the *Hodayot*.

3.3 Hermeneutical Use of the HB and Suffering

In this section, I will argue that the author evinces an “inspirational” hermeneutic that shares affinities with different types of Jewish hermeneutics. I will explore the author’s christological grid, his interpretation of the HB through the lens of the Christ-event. Working in unison with the author’s hermeneutic, the author reveals Jesus to be the Suffering Servant of Isaiah and the recipients to be God’s eschatological community. Attention to the author’s hermeneutic will not only further illuminate his thought world, but also locate him within a cognitive milieu shared by the author(s) of the *Hodayot*.

3.3.1 An “Inspirational” and Christocentric Hermeneutic Applied to the HB

1 Peter’s hermeneutical use of the HB exhibits aspects of “midrash,” “pesher,”

“typology”, and *sensus plenior*.⁶⁷ That the author extensively employs “typology” in its exegesis of the HB is well established among scholarship.⁶⁸ Thus, I will not discuss “typology” further. Recognizing the need, yet difficulty, in defining the aforementioned terms,⁶⁹ I proceed cautiously.⁷⁰

Brewer’s study confirms the broad categorization of Jewish exegesis prior to 70 C.E. as either “nomological” or “inspirational.” The former category includes the scribes who “regarded every word of Scripture as consistent and equally important, to be interpreted according to its context and according to its primary meaning only, and recognized a single valid text form.”⁷¹ The latter category includes Jewish contemporaries of the author of 1 Peter (for example, Philo and those at Qumran) who “interpreted Scripture as though it were a living prophecy inspired by a Spirit which continued to inspire its exegetes . . . to interpret with disregard to the context, to find several levels of meaning, and to interpret variant manuscripts and translations.”⁷²

1 Peter’s hermeneutic, I argue, bears striking resemblance to those in the “inspirational” category because it exhibits characteristics of “midrash” and *peshet*. “Midrash” is a broad category,⁷³ containing multiple “types” (paraphrase, prophecy, and parable) and “dimensions” (exegesis, document, and process).⁷⁴ Interpretation (midrash) of the HB extends from at least the Exile to beyond the writing of the NT.⁷⁵ Neusner points out that “peshet” means “interpretation” in Hebrew which is precisely what “midrash” constitutes. Therefore, he argues *peshet* “constitutes a Midrash -- an

67. See Moo, “Problem,” 202 who argues that “*sensus plenior* is to be distinguished from typology . . .” Cf. Acts 13:33; Heb 1:5; 5:5.

68. See Goppelt, *Typos*, 152–57. See also, Selwyn, *First Peter*, 298–99. For discussion of all four terms, see Moo, “Problem,” 195. For wives as Christ-types, see Spencer, “Pedagogical”. For Noah as a “type,” see Jobes, *1 Peter*, 253–54. For a definition of “typology”, see Baker, “Typology,” 327–28.

69. Moo, “Problem,” 193 recognizes the need to define “certain key terms, such as ‘midrash’ and ‘peshet.’”

70. Moo, “Problem,” 193 acknowledges that defining these terms proves difficult.

71. Brewer, *Techniques*, 222.

72. Ibid.

73. That midrash “has a variety of definitions, see Brewer, *Techniques*, 3.

74. Neusner, *Midrash*.

75. Brewer, *Techniques*, 5.

interpretation -- on a prophetic book from Scripture.”⁷⁶ Horgan notes the distinction between two types of *pesharim* provided by Jean Carmignac:

the ‘continuous pesher’ (*peshet continuu*), in which a single biblical book is methodically interpreted section by section, and the ‘thematic pesher’ (*peshet thématique*), in which certain citations to be interpreted are chosen from various biblical books and grouped artificially around a central idea, e.g. 11QMelchizedek and 4QFlorilegium.⁷⁷

Summarizing the exegetical beliefs of the Qumran commentators, Horgan concludes:

“that the pesher is an interpretation made known by God to a selected interpreter of a mystery revealed by God to the biblical prophet concerning history.”⁷⁸ Advancing the discussion on “What is *peshet*?”, Berrin provides four characteristics or elements:

form, content, method, and motive. His discussion focuses on the fifteen continuous *pesharim* (sequential interpretations of a particular biblical work), found at Qumran, but he notes that his criteria are relevant to “thematic” *peshet* compositions.⁷⁹

The first characteristic, *form*, includes a citation of biblical text, an introductory formula using the word פֶּשֶׁר, and “an application of the text to a historical, eschatologically significant reality, outside of its original context.”⁸⁰ 1 Peter matches this criterion with the exception that having been written in Greek it obviously does not contain the term פֶּשֶׁר. However, and as I will show below in discussion of 1:23-25, the author quotes Isa 40:6-8 and then provides its interpretation, namely that the word of Isaiah is the word of the gospel announced εἰς ὑμᾶς.

The second element, the *content*, has as its referent a historical event or person.⁸¹ Important, as Berrin emphasizes, “is the specific eschatological focus” of the Qumran *peshet*; the sectarian community views the fore-ordained plan of God and the biblical prophetic predictions as being fulfilled in and through the community at the

76. Neusner, *Midrash*, 32.

77. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 3.

78. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 229.

79. See Berrin, “Pesharim,” 111 n. 4. This is important because 1 Peter resembles aspects of a “thematic” *peshet*.

80. Berrin, “Pesharim,” 111–13.

81. *Ibid.*, 114–15.

climatic conclusion of history. Salvation has begun, but remains unrealized.⁸² Further, the community views this final stage of history, and its place within it, dualistically. That is to say, its struggle with and alienation from society mirrors a cosmic battle.⁸³ This eschatological focus is emphasized as the *pesharim* “comment upon strongly eschatological base texts.”⁸⁴ The *pesharim* are interpreting “books of the Minor Prophets, Isaiah, and Psalms” which are “amenable to dualistic and eschatological readings” and which emphasize “the fate of the wicked.”⁸⁵

The third aspect of *peshet*, *method*, combines “revelation” and “exegesis.” Berrin explains that both are central and combined into “inspired exegesis” such that the *peshet* supplies revelatory information about reality as it exegetes the base texts.⁸⁶ The fourth aspect, *motive*, aims: “to identify biblical texts as referring to eschatologically significant historical events, thereby demonstrating and predicting fulfillments of biblical prophecy.”⁸⁷ Each of these elements will be discussed, but at this stage, it is sufficient to note that every element in the second, third, and fourth aspect could be said with equal force with respect to 1 Peter.

Applying Horgan’s and Berrin’s characteristics to the epistle of 1 Peter, I note: (1) the author is extensively quoting prophetic base texts (Isaiah, Psalms, Minor Prophets) to reveal their meaning and disclose the fore-ordained mysteries of God, (2) the mysteries revealed were hidden in the past but are now revealed by God to the author who *applies* it the community, and (3) the revelation pertains not only to the past and present but also to the future and imminent conclusion of history in which the author’s besieged community as the elect of God experiences alienation in society

82. Rightly, Berrin, “Pesharim,” 116–17 notes a partial sense of realized eschatology, but with the emphasis on anticipation of future fulfillment.

83. Expressing concepts in apocalyptic traditions, see Berrin, “Pesharim,” 117.

84. E.g. Isaiah, Zechariah, Micah, and Hosea, see Berrin, “Pesharim,” 118–19.

85. That 1 Peter exhibits these characteristics will be discussed below. See Berrin, “Pesharim,” 120–21.

86. According to Berrin, “Pesharim,” 123–30 the synthesis of “revelation” and “exegesis” as an undifferentiated process is central to *peshet*. Cf. 1 Pet 1:10-12 coupled with 1:23-25 or 2:21-25 for example.

87. Berrin, “Pesharim,” 131.

amidst a cosmic battle. While 1 Peter is not technically a midrash or a *peshet*, it shares many similarities with both.⁸⁸

Not all agree. Elliott claims that 1 Peter is no “midrash . . . on any particular HB text or combination of texts.”⁸⁹ In this, Elliott rightly notes that 1 Peter does not focus on “expounding the meaning” of one particular HB book.⁹⁰ However, Elliott’s definition of “midrash” as “interpretation whose focus is a *text* and whose aim is expounding the meaning of that text” is unnecessarily narrow.⁹¹ As Neusner, Brewer, Horgan, and Berrin have shown, “midrash,” as well as *peshet*, contains many flavors and complexities. The author of 1 Peter employs a complex mixture of exegetical techniques, like his Jewish contemporaries, in interpreting the HB. So, while 1 Peter does not fit within the *genre* of “midrash” or *peshet* per se, the author’s hermeneutical use of the HB bears striking similarities with the “inspirational” hermeneutic of his contemporaries, especially those at Qumran.⁹² This aids in situating 1 Peter within a cognitive milieu of EJJ reflecting a similar pattern of thought as well as hermeneutic. I will elaborate on those parallels with the *Hodayot* in the next chapter.

Next, I will provide examples to support my argument that 1 Peter exhibits “midrashic” and *peshet*-like hermeneutical conventions.⁹³ Texts from the Qumran community clearly indicate their sense of being God’s end-time people who, believing their exegesis to be inspired, interpret the HB as being fulfilled in them. Bauckham, for example, details many parallels between 1 Peter’s hermeneutic and that exhibited in

88. This conclusion correlates with that of Ellis, *Prophecy*, 173–81 who writes, “N.T. writers . . . apply a *midrash peshet* method to the O.T.”; moreover, he concludes, “if *midrash peshet* is understood as an interpretive framework, *ad hoc* or with reference to appropriate textual or targumic traditions, then there is some evidence for its use on a rather advanced scale even in the pre-Pauline strata of the N.T.” That Hebr 10:37ff. “illustrate a Christian *peshet*-type midrash,” see Ellis, *Prophecy*, 193.

89. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 17.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*

92. This is not to say, like Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 85–86, that 1 Peter is a homiletic midrash. Firstly, 1 Peter shares affinities with the Greco-Roman epistolary genre of “paraenetic epistle.” Secondly, Doering, “Diaspora” demonstrates that 1 Peter fits the form of a Jewish “Diaspora letter.” In agreement, see Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 32. Thus, 1 Peter represents an amalgam of genre types and hermeneutical methods.

93. Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 123–38.

texts found at Qumran.⁹⁴ Schutter demonstrates through many examples such as 11QMelchizedek and 4QFlorilegium, and highlighted by 1QpHab VII 1-5, the “hermeneutical affinities” of Qumran with 1 Peter 1:10-12.⁹⁵ In 1:10-12, the author explains that the prophets, led by the Spirit of Christ, prophesied about the sufferings of Christ, but they themselves did not understand the deeper significance of what they were saying.⁹⁶ But now, 1 Peter explains, these prophecies have been fulfilled.⁹⁷ Further, 1 Peter indicates that some HB texts contained deeper meanings which are uncovered through the Christ-event.⁹⁸

3.3.1.1 Christ as the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53

In describing the significance of Jesus’ death, the author of 1 Peter appropriates and interprets the HB, to reveal that Jesus is the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53, thus providing a significant contribution to early Christian theology.⁹⁹ Regardless of whether 2:21-25 is classified as a direct quote,¹⁰⁰ “hymn,”¹⁰¹ or “*Passionslied*,”¹⁰² the author of 1 Peter reveals via his “inspirational” hermeneutic that the Christ-event

94. See Bauckham, “James,” 310 (e.g. 1QpHab VII. 1-5; 1 QH XII. 11f. and VII. 1f.; CD VI; 11QMelchizedek; 4QFlorilegium).

95. Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 110–22.

96. See Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 30 n. 54 and also Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 100–109 that 1:10-12 is “a hermeneutical key.”

97. That 1:10-12 is “one of the clearest statements of the *peshet* type of interpretation” and exhibits “a technique akin to midrashic exegesis,” see Gene L. Green, “Ethics,” 286.

98. See Moo, “Problem,” 201 that *sensus plenior* is “the idea that there is in many scriptural texts a fuller sense than that consciously intended by the human author, a sense intended by God, the ultimate author of scripture.” Further, Moo, “Problem,” 203 n.88 acknowledges that 1 Pet 1:10-12 “does not say that prophets knew all that the New Testament claims to find in their prophecies.” Rightly, Moyise, *Evoking*, 94 concludes that “on a number of occasions, the meaning assigned by the author (of 1 Peter) could not have been what was in the (OT) prophet’s mind.”

99. Rightly Windisch, *Katholische*, 65; Selwyn, *First Peter*, 180; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 209; Hooker, “Isaiah 53,” 93; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 523; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 194.

100. See, Osborne, “Suffering”; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 136–37, 145; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 193; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 193.

101. That the author of 1 Peter has adapted early Christian “hymnic” material (itself an early reflection upon Isaiah 53), see Windisch, *Katholische*, 65–66; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 207–10.

102. That 1:18-21; 2:21-25; 3:18-21 reflect three Passion songs, see Langkammer, “Jesus,” 90.

conforms to Isaiah 53.¹⁰³ Isa 40-66, in addition to Isa 53, has influenced not only 2:21-25, but also underpins other christological sections through the motif of suffering/glory. As Pearson has shown, the suffering/glory motif in Isa 53 has served as the conceptual unifier for the christological material in the epistle.¹⁰⁴ The sections of 1:18-21, 2:21-25, and 3:18-25 summarize “the Christ story,” describe the vicariousness of Christ’s suffering for sin, and call believers to suffer patiently like him.¹⁰⁵ In this way, then, 2:21-25 along with other christological sections (e.g., 1:3-12, 18-21; 2:4-8; 3:18-22) draw upon, and rework, the humiliation/glorification theme of Isa 53 to create an identifiable pattern of suffering/glorification.¹⁰⁶ The motive of the author is similar to the motive of the *pesharim* authors, namely to identify biblical texts as “referring to eschatologically significant historical events, thereby demonstrating and predicting fulfillment of biblical prophecy.”¹⁰⁷ Through “inspired exegesis,” the author explains that Jesus is the Isaianic Servant placing the recipients at the “end of days.”

3.3.1.2 Revelation, Salvation-History, and the People of God in 1 Peter

The author’s “inspirational” and christocentric hermeneutic extends beyond his interpretation of Jesus as the Isaianic Servant. 1 Peter states that the recipients’ “new birth” is “through the living and enduring (μένω) word (λόγος) of God” (1:23). Like Isaiah who describes the LORD’s “word” (ῥῆμα) as “enduring” (μένω) forever (LXX Isa. 40:8), 1 Peter contrasts this λόγος with the fleeting nature of “flesh” (σάρξ, 1:24) by way of quoting Isaiah 40:6-8 (LXX). Strikingly, 1 Peter then equates the ῥῆμα of God in Isaiah with the ῥῆμα of the gospel. Isaiah’s ῥῆμα, 1 Peter states “is the good news that was announced to you” (1:25b, τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς

103. Hooker, *Servant*, 125.

104. Pearson, *Christological*, 210.

105. Rightly, Langkammer, “Jes 53,” 92. Similarly, Horrell, *1 Peter*, 40 notes the “story” of Christ therein.

106. Pearson, *Christological*, 8.

107. Quote by Berrin, “Pesharim,” 131 who notes this “motive” in the Qumran *pesharim*.

ὑμᾶς). Thus, the author proclaims that the ῥῆμα of God in Isaiah *is* the λόγος of God, the ῥῆμα of the gospel of Christ. Moreover, the author posits that the λόγος of God, the ῥῆμα of the good news (1:25), is the instrument of their “new birth” (1:23; cf. 1:3)! Through “midrash” and *peshet*-like exegesis, the author reveals to the community that Isaiah 40:6-8 is, in some sense, fulfilled.

1 Peter equates the preaching of the ῥῆμα of the gospel to “good news” (εὐαγγελίζω, 1:12, 25) just as Isaiah proclaims that God’s coming redemption and salvation will be referred to as the “good news to Zion” (40:9 [2x]). In 1 Peter, εὐαγγελίζω serves as a structural element in chapter one.

- 1:3-9 *Inclusio*: “born *anew*” (ἀναγεννάω)
- 1:10-12 A σωτηρία (1:10); **τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων** (1:12)
- 1:13-17 B believers’ behavior - call to holiness
- 1:18-21 A' Encapsulated summary of ‘salvation’
- 1:22 B' believers’ behavior - call to holiness
- 1:23-25 A" salvation as **τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν** (1:25)
- 1:23 *Inclusio*: “born *anew*” (ἀναγεννάω)

This “good news,” the author of 1 Peter proclaims, is God’s “great mercy” which has resulted in their “new birth” (1 Pet. 1:3, 23). Thus, the author structures his message such that God’s ῥῆμα of “good news to Zion” is equated to the λόγος / ῥῆμα of “good news” of the gospel of Christ.

In Isa 40:11 (LXX), God brings salvation like “a shepherd” (ποιμήν) who will gather his “flock” (ποῖμνιον) in his arms. 1 Peter quotes from Isa 53:6 to describe believers as straying “sheep” (πρόβατον, 2:25a), and then alludes to Isa 40:11 by writing, “but now you have returned to the shepherd (ποιμήν) and guardian of your souls” (2:25b). In this way, 1 Peter links Isaiah’s “good news” of salvation in Isa 40 to the Suffering Servant of Isa 53. In 1 Peter, Isaiah’s shepherd is God/Christ and his sheep are believers. For example, believers are “the flock (ποῖμνιον) of God” (5:2) and Christ is the “chief Shepherd” (ἀρχιποιμήν, 5:4), a *hapax legomenon* in the NT. In 1 Peter, Christ, the Shepherd and Suffering Servant, gathers believers, the lost “sheep” of God (Isa 40:11; 53:6).

A prime example of 1 Peter's midrashic and *peshet*-like hermeneutic resides in 2:4-10 where the author interprets the identity of Christ and of the community. As Bauckham convincingly argues, 2:4-5 introduces these two central themes, with 2:6-8 combining Isaiah and the Psalms to interpret Christ as the elect stone, and with 2:9-10 conflating Isaiah, Exodus, and Hosea to interpret the community as the elect people of God.¹⁰⁸ The catchword λίθον (2:4, 5, 6, 7, 8; cf. Isa 8:14; 28:16; Psa 118:22 [117:22 LXX]) comes to refer to Christ as the "cornerstone" of the new "spiritual house" (οἶκος πνευματικὸς, 2:5) which is God's people (λαὸς θεοῦ, 2:10). The catchword λαός (2:9, 10 [2x]; cf. Isa 43:21; Exod 19:5 LXX; Hos 1:6, 9; 2:1, 23), appropriates the biblical identity of Israel and applies it to the community of believers.¹⁰⁹

This appropriation and identification of believers as God's Exodus people, is further strengthened by the linguistic parallels between Exod 19:5-6 and 1 Pet 2:9. In 1 Pet 2:9, believers are a βασιλείον ιεράτευμα (cf. Exod 19:5), ἔθνος ἅγιον (cf. Exod 19:6), and λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (cf. Exod 19:5). The pronouncement by God from Mt. Sinai upon his people has been applied in 1 Peter to the community of believers. Through an allusion to/echo of Hosea (Hos 1:6, 9; 2:1, 23), believers are confirmed as the "people of God" (λαὸς θεοῦ, 2:10) to whom God has shown "mercy" (ἐλέεω, 2:10). Moreover, 1 Peter's statement that "once you were not a people, but now you are God's people" (2:10) is not only an allusion to Hosea, but also a deepening of it whereby *new meaning* is intended as it is reread. In Hosea, God foretells that those who were not his people will be his people. 1 Peter's appropriation of Hosea echoes Exodus 33:19b (LXX) utilizing the same verb, "mercy" (ἐλέεω), in describing God's sovereignty in election. In these ways, the author appropriates a host of HB texts, titles, and prophecies that appear to refer to Israel and applies them to Jesus and his community.¹¹⁰

108. Bauckham, "James," 310.

109. Ibid., 311.

110. Noting a *peshet*-type feature of midrash, namely "selection and adaptation of the text form to suit the interpretation," Bauckham, "James," 311 concludes that 1 Pet 2:4-10 functions similarly "to show how the election of Christ leads to the election of those who believe in him as the

3.3.2 Locating the Author Within a Milieu of “Inspirational” Exegesis of Isaiah

To summarize, the author’s “inspirational” and christocentric hermeneutic bears similarity with the “inspirational” approach to “midrash” evinced by his contemporaries at Qumran.¹¹¹ The author utilizes aspects of midrash, *peshet*, typology, and *sensus plenior* to communicate that the Christ-event illuminates the HB. Thus, the HB, and especially Isaiah 40-55, is understood via the Christ-event. Like Isaiah, the author of 1 Peter intends to “encourage” (παρακαλέω, 5:12; cf. Isa. 40:1-2) the recipients that God’s prophesied plan of salvation (Isa 49:1-6) through the Servant has occurred in the Jesus’ death and resurrection. The Christ-event, then, becomes the interpretive grid to grasp the deeper meaning inherent within *all* the Hebrew scriptures, not just an isolated text or set of texts.¹¹² The author intends for the recipients to grasp that Jesus is the Isaianic Servant, they are God’s eschatological community living within the final act of history, and thus, they will suffer at the “end of the ages.” This fact provides a basis for comparing 1 Peter with the *Hodayot*.

3.4 The Christ-Event and Present Effects (νῦν, 2:10)

holy people of God.”

111. See Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 151 that 1 Peter’s hermeneutic in 2:4-10, “bears strong resemblance to the kind of midrashic exegesis evident at Qumran, including at times *peshet*-like interpretation.”

112. That “not only Isaiah and David, were within the author’s sight, but so were Moses (Exod 19:5f, Deut 21:23?), Solomon (Prov 11:31), Hosea (1-2), Ezekiel (8-11), probably Malachi (3:17 at 1 Pet 2:9, and 3:1 at 1 Pet 4:17 by association with the exegesis of Ezek 9:6), and possibly Jeremiah (25:29, again by association with the exegesis of Ezek 9:6). Another possibility could be Zephaniah (1:6b), which has been detected behind 1 QS V, 11, and which the investigation found similar reason to suspect behind 1 Pet 1:10, ἐξεζητήσαν καὶ ἐξηραύνησαν,” see Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 178.

It is crucial to understand what effects the Christ-event has on the new existence.¹¹³

Clarity regarding atonement, for example, bears heavily in grasping the role of suffering in 1 Peter. Does suffering by believers effect atonement? Does suffering impact believers' agency to "put off" and "put on" behaviors in the new existence? Firstly, then, I will briefly discuss the sufficiency of Christ's ἁπαξ death and resurrection, focusing on 1 Peter's resolution to the problem of "sins" (ἁμαρτίαι). Secondly, I will examine the impact of atonement upon the σάρξ and ἐπιθυμίας. To do this, I will discuss 1 Peter's anthropological and psychological dualisms. Then I will discuss the author's articulation of the *temporal* axis of salvation (eschatology) and the new existence *spatially* (cosmology). Finally, and with the new existence in hand, I will examine a sixth aspect of suffering in 1 Peter's theology, namely that suffering serves as an instrument to defeat "desires of the flesh" and enables believers to live rightly.

3.4.1 Redeemed from ἁμαρτίαι

The author quotes extensively from Isa 53 to address the problem of "sins" (ἁμαρτίαι) that plague humanity. In 2:21-25, the author quotes from Isa 53:3-6, 9, 11, 12. While verse 10 is not quoted, it is surely intended. For there, Isaiah makes the extraordinary claim that the Suffering Servant "is an offering for sin." In this way, Isaiah indicates that the Suffering Servant's "wounds" (μώλωψ) heal (ιάομαι) the people's "wounds" (Isa. 53:5), a metaphorical description of sins begun in the first chapter of Isaiah (Isa 1:4, 6).

Similarly, 1 Peter 2:24 states that Christ's "wounds" (μώλωψ) brought believers' "healing" (ιάομαι). Crucifixion caused atrocious wounds and death to Christ's body. But, by bringing Isa 53 in view, the author reveals the impact of Christ's death. The sins ("wounds") of the unrighteous are removed by the righteous one (1 Pet

113. Rightly, Barth, *Church v. 4 Pt. 1*, ix notes "to fail here is to fail everywhere. To be on the right track here makes it impossible to be completely mistaken in the whole."

3:18). Christ, who “suffered for us” (3:18),¹¹⁴ “bore our sins” (2:24; cf. 1:11; 3:18; 4:13; 5:1), died and was raised (1:21; 3:18, 21). As Isa 53:10 indicates, Jesus was our “guilt offering.”¹¹⁵ Jesus, the author reveals, is not *a* suffering servant; he is Christ, *the* Suffering Servant who vicariously gave his life to remove sins by hanging on the ξύλον.¹¹⁶

A question, then, is what are the implications upon the elect in the removal of their “sins.” Selwyn argues that 2:21-25 centers on believers’ conversion from ways of sin to a life of righteousness. Thus, guilt is not in view.¹¹⁷ Stibbs, rightly, notes that the penalty of “sin” in the HB was death; therefore, he draws attention to the penal and substitutionary language in Isa 53:12 employed by 1 Peter in 2:24.¹¹⁸ Kelly helpfully notes that “tree” (2:24) as used in both classical Greek and Deut 21:22f “had associations with the punishment of malefactors.”¹¹⁹ Yet oddly, Kelly, like Selwyn, then argues that the purpose of Christ on the “tree” was not removal of guilt but the abandonment of sin.¹²⁰ Beare, on the other hand, writes that the idea of expiation “underlies the whole passage.”¹²¹ Closely related to this idea, Goppelt understands ἁμαρτία in 1 Peter as transgression against God.¹²²

This discussion is important because it bears on the author’s picture of the new existence. If the author’s point is that removal of “sins” refers to the removal of guilt, then a change in the existence of the elect may not be in view. That is to say, does removal of transgressions diminish the underlying propensity to commit sins?

114. E.g., πάσχω (“to suffer,” 2:21, 23; 3:18; 4:1), and πάθημα (“suffering, passion,” 1:11; 4:13; 5:1) referring to Christ.

115. The Hebrew MT and the LXX text diverge at 53:10. However, both the Hebrew (וְשָׁחַתְנוּ אֶת־עֲוֹנוֹתָיו) and the Greek texts nevertheless indicate an “offering for sin” (ἐὰν δώτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας).

116. Kelly, *Peter*, 123.

117. Selwyn, *First Peter*, 94.

118. “To bear sin” or “iniquity” says Stibbs, *First Peter*, 120, “means in the Old Testament to be answerable for it, and to endure its penalty, e.g. to die (see Exod 28:43; Lev 24:15, 16).”

119. Kelly, *Peter*, 122.

120. Kelly, *Peter*, 123.

121. Beare, *First Peter*, 151.

122. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 211.

Atonement does provide “life-giving effects.” It “enables” believers “to renounce wrongdoing” (2:1, 12, 16, 19-20; 3:9, 10-12, 17; 4:3, 15; 5:2-3, 8-9).¹²³ But “Why?”

Has the Christ-event removed the “curse” (κατάρα) of the “Law” (νόμος) and/or defeated the “power” (δύναμις) of sin? Defeat of the angelic powers is mentioned in passing (3:22), yet they are not identified with the “power” of sin or the “flesh.”¹²⁴ These concepts (and problems), so prevalent in the Pauline epistles (1 Cor 15:56; cf. Rom 3:9; Gal 3:22; cf. Col 2:11-15), are not present in 1 Peter. Instead, the author utilizes his “inspirational” hermeneutic to interpret the HB christologically to show that Christ has addressed the universal problem of transgressions against God which plagued humanity.

Unique with respect to the Pauline corpus, 1 Peter utilizes the verb λυτρόω to describe the elect as having been “redeemed” (1:18).¹²⁵ In 1 Peter’s theological worldview, redemption “from a lifestyle of sin,” refers to a release from God’s judgment for “sins.”¹²⁶ The “blood of Christ” (1 Pet 1:19), shed on the ξύλον is a ransom payment, a “ransom for many.”¹²⁷ In view, however, is not release from a δύναμις (“power”), but a release from the curse of judgment for transgressions (ἁμαρτία).¹²⁸ With the phrase ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ (2:24), 1 Peter alludes to Christ coming under God’s curse. But, 1 Peter does not, as in the Pauline corpus, explain that Christ became a curse, thereby redeeming those under the curse of the “Law” (νόμος, Gal 3:13). Like the concept of the “δύναμις of sin,” the Law is not discussed in 1 Peter. Unconcerned with abstract metaphysical concepts, the author of 1 Peter

123. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 534–35.

124. That “sin” in 1 Peter refers to an act and “not to a state or power which controls people,” see Omanson, “Suffering,” 445.

125. Ladd, *Theology*, 433.

126. Rightly, Mbuvi, *Temple*, 86–89 argues that λυτρόω conveys “the idea of a substitutionary death,” the idea of vicarious ransom and the idea of Paschal sacrifice thus carrying with it an exodus/exile motif.

127. Cf., Mark 10:45 (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν).

128. Note that λυτρόω in 1 Peter does not, like Heb 9:15, refer to a ‘ransom’ from ‘transgressions’ committed ‘under the first covenant.’ 1 Peter never mentions “covenant,” nor does he distinguish “sins” before or after the covenant at Sinai or between “sins” by those under the covenant (Jews) and those not under it (Gentiles).

interprets the HB to indicate historical continuity in God's salvific action. The shed blood of Christ (1:2, 19), the perfect sacrificial lamb,¹²⁹ and the resurrection of Christ (1:21; 3:18, 21) remove "sins" (2:24). As a result of atonement, the elect may experience "salvation" (1:5, 9, 10; 2:2).¹³⁰

In summary, 1 Peter depicts "sins" as an offense against God which remained an insoluble problem despite sacrifices, cleansing rituals, and means of atonement. Moreover, as transgressions against God, "sins" incurred guilt and merited God's judgment. Prior to atonement, the elect, like the rest of humanity, committed "sins" in a pattern of life (1:14) antithetical to a holy God (1:16). But the Christ-event results in "freedom" (ἐλευθερία, 2:16). Freedom means believers live "as God's slaves" (ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλοι), not in spite of being free, but because "as free people" (ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, 2:16) everything is to God's glory (4:11).¹³¹ Thus, 1 Peter exhorts living rightly as a response to God's merciful forgiveness.

3.4.2 The New Existence and the Battle Within (2:11; 4:1)

It remains to be seen whether removal of sins and having been "redeemed" (λυτρώω) also includes freedom from the σάρξ and "evil desires" (ἐπιθυμία, 1:14; cf. 2:11; 4:2, 3). In what follows, I will investigate the impact of the Christ-event upon the new existence.

3.4.2.1 Live for Righteousness (1:16; 2:23)

The author of 1 Peter is deeply concerned that the elect (1:1; 2:9),¹³² the forgiven,

129. Rightly, Barth, *Church v. 4 Pt. 4*, 16–17.

130. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 534.

131. Captured well by Neugebauer, "Deutung," 85.

132. Comparing 1 Peter's election views to the HB and DSS, Christiansen, "Election," 40, 64 rightly notes that election "in 1 Peter has been christologically, ecclesiological and eschatologically interpreted and reinterpreted to fit the communities addressed. . . . the Christ event is seen as the epitome of election and the ultimate reason for its applicability in a context of

temple-community (2:5, 9), live holy lives (1:15).¹³³ Moral development, though, requires believers to grasp the divine source of their “new birth” so that they “may grow into salvation” (2:2).¹³⁴ God’s merciful election resulted in believers’ faith in Christ, removal of sins, redemption/ransom, and new existence as the people of God. Therefore, as his temple-community, believers are to rid themselves of the vestiges of their former, sinful lives (2:1, 11) manifesting God’s very presence in the midst of pagans who revile, not only them, but the very God who redeemed them. Thus, believers’ lives serve as the space (like creation and Temple) of God’s presence and activity.

Evidence of this central concern is found in 2:11-25. The section begins with an exhortation to “abstain from fleshly desires” (2:11) and closes with the admonition to “live for righteousness” (2:24). Ethical behavior is based on believers’ redemption from “sins” through Christ’s death (1:3, 18-19; 2:24) resulting in an identity as the “people of God” (λαὸς θεοῦ, 2:10). Because of this identity, believers must be holy (1:16), an exhortation complicated by “the desires of the flesh” (τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, 2:11).

3.4.2.2 Anthropological Dualism: The Inner Person of the Elect

Grasping 1 Peter’s conception of the ψυχή, πνεῦμα, καρδία as an aspect of a believer distinct from the σάρξ and the ἐπιθυμίαι which reside in it, will aid greatly in interpreting the new existence and the means to live rightly. I argue that 1 Peter views the human person dualistically, broadly defined, as containing a ψυχή/πνεῦμα which continues after cessation of the physical body. Recognizing 1 Peter’s anthropology

Christian identity.”

133. Emphases on holiness are “to make explicit that the holy Temple-community represents the indicative presupposed by the imperative of 1:15-16, and God’s call to holiness,” see Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 93.

134. That 1 Peter 2:1-3 draws upon the “nursling-milk” metaphor in antiquity to depict “the Christological basis” of the new birth which requires believers “being nourished on the very essence that gave them new life,” see Tite, “Nurslings,” 391–95.

situates the author's rhetoric of a "war" within the elect within streams of traditions in EJJ. In this section, I will briefly highlight language within 1 Peter (ψυχή, πνεῦμα, καρδία) that develops the concept of "the inner person," an aspect of the human which has the capacity to be directed towards God, and, after death, either join God in the "heavenlies" (3:22) or await final judgment in "prison" (3:19).¹³⁵ The goal here is recognizing that 1 Peter's anthropology is not "monist" but dualistic. This will clear the path for comparing 1 Peter with texts from the DSS which also contain a dualistic view of the human person.

J. Green interprets 1 Peter to represent "a monist anthropology," arguing that its dualism "is eschatological and not anthropological."¹³⁶ Green is correct that 1 Peter operates within an eschatological dualism in which the present evil age is to be judged by God in the age to come,¹³⁷ and summarizes well the manifold conceptions of the body-soul relationship in ancient Greek philosophy.¹³⁸ Green also articulates well evidence for "monism" in the HB. From this, Green concludes that the author of 1 Peter "proves himself to be more the heir of the Scripture of Israel than of Plato in his understanding of the human person."¹³⁹ Thus, he translates τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν as "worldly cravings" (2:11) and ψυχή (2:11; cf. 1:9, 22; 2:25; 3:20; 4:19) not as "soul," but as "life, vitality."¹⁴⁰

However, Green's conclusion oversimplifies Second Temple Judaism and misinterprets the available evidence. Firstly, EJJ evinces great diversity, including views regarding the immortality of the soul. The argument that the Greeks believed in immortality of the soul, but the Jews expected bodily resurrection is, as Collins points

135. In agreement with Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 260 that 3:19 most likely refers to Christ's proclamation of victory over the evil powers to imprisoned, fallen angels, and possibly also condemnation to the disobedient human dead.

136. Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 265.

137. Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 26, 265.

138. Rightly, Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 262 notes that "there simply was no singular conception of the soul among the Greeks." See also, Wright and Potter, *Psyche*.

139. Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 263, 265.

140. Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 68.

out, “far too simple” a reading of history.¹⁴¹ Secondly, Green’s conclusion is predetermined by his selection of evidence and omission of other Jewish streams of traditions.¹⁴² Green gives scarce consideration to the DSS, Philo, and Josephus.¹⁴³ For example, Josephus, a Jewish contemporary of NT writers, depicts the wide-spread belief within Palestinian Judaism that the “soul” survives after the body perishes. He states that the Pharisees believed the ψυχή survived death; moreover, evil souls receive eternal punishment under the earth and the good souls receive the reward of an easy passage to a new life.¹⁴⁴ Although reporting that the Sadducees believe the “soul” perishes along with the body, Josephus writes that the Essenes regard the ψυχή as immortal,¹⁴⁵ a view he appears to have held as well.¹⁴⁶ This description corresponds to *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* in which souls remain alive after death in either joyful blessedness or underworld punishment.¹⁴⁷ Summarizing the theology of the sect at Qumran, Collins concludes that “the belief in immortality of the soul seems to me to be a reasonable approximation of the Scroll’s affirmation of eternal life.”¹⁴⁸ In this light, Collins argues persuasively that Josephus faithfully represents, albeit in Greek philosophical language, his source which “could be derived from something like the Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule.”¹⁴⁹

Failure to account for the cultural milieu of Judaism is the same criticism lodged by Feldmeier of Dautzenberg who overlooked evidence from Hellenistic

141. Noting “plenty of evidence” demonstrated earlier by Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 168 for “Jewish belief in forms of immortality that did not involve bodily resurrection, even in texts that were composed in Semitic languages in the land of Israel,” Collins, “Essenees,” 44 provides *Jub.* 23:30-31 as an example. See also, Collins, “Afterlife,” 119–39, and Nickelsburg, “Judgment,” 141–62.

142. Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 26, 68, 135, 264.

143. For example, in the index Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 263, 330 has only three citations from the DSS, two from Philo, and none of Josephus. No citation pertains to anthropology.

144. E.g. Josephus, *Ant.*, 18.14.

145. E.g. Josephus *Ant.*, 18.16, 18. Cf. *J.W.* 2.154-158 as cited by Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 127–28.

146. Cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 3:372.

147. E.g., *1 Enoch* 9:3; 22:3; 103:4 and *Jubilees* 23:31. As noted by Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 128–29.

148. Collins, “Essenees,” 48.

149. *Ibid.*, 52.

Judaism, such as Philo, in interpreting σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν (1:9).¹⁵⁰ Feldmeier's criticism is notable because Dautzenberg's work is often cited as evidence for interpreting ψυχή in 1 Peter to mean "life" or "the total person."¹⁵¹ Omission of such evidence is unfortunate considering the extraordinary points of correspondence, not only between 1 Peter and Hellenistic Judaism, but also between 1 Peter and the DSS. Briefly, I will highlight aspects of 1 Peter's language which point to a dualistic anthropology and draw attention to parallels with Hellenistic Judaism and 1 Peter. I will discuss parallels with the DSS in the next chapter.

Firstly, 1 Peter's conception of ψυχή as applied to the person is nearly equivalent to πνεῦμα.¹⁵² In this, Bigg correctly stated that to the author of 1 Peter, "man is made up of body and ψυχή, or body and πνεῦμα."¹⁵³ Two uses of ψυχή and two of πνεῦμα illustrate this point. In 1:9, ψυχή, the whole "inner man," as in the Gospels and Acts,¹⁵⁴ experiences "salvation."¹⁵⁵ In 1 Peter, σωτηρία is kept in the "heavenly" sphere where Christ, who prefigures believers' future glory, currently resides. Herein, the *spatial* dualism of 1 Peter is related to its *anthropological* dualism. Because Christ's present prefigures believers' future in 1 Peter, Christ's proceeding to "heaven" in the πνεῦμα (3:18-19) prefigures believers' salvation in the spirit.¹⁵⁶ In 2:11, the ψυχή is contrasted, via warfare imagery, with the σάρξ. This is strikingly similar to 1 Peter's contrast between Christ in the σάρξ and in the πνεῦμα (3:18).¹⁵⁷ In

150. See Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 88 who notes that Dautzenberg, "Σωτηρία" fails to examine conceptualizations of the ψυχή in Greek-speaking Judaism. See also, Feldmeier, "Salvation," 202-5.

151. E.g., Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 95; Davids, *1 Peter*, 35; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 104; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 344.

152. Cf., ψυχή (6x; singular in 1:9; plural in 1:22; 2:11, 25; 3:20; 4:19); πνεῦμα (1:11; 3:4; 3:18-19; 4:6).

153. Bigg, *St Peter*, 152.

154. E.g., Matt 10:28; John 12:27; Acts 2:27. Cf. Matt 22:37; Mark 12:30; Luke 10:27 for tri-partite division within the person.

155. Bigg, *St Peter*, 107.

156. Noting that Christ "was 'quickened in spirit', i.e. in that part of His nature which belonged to the supernatural and spiritual order," Selwyn, *First Peter*, 197 writes that "He, the God-man Christ Jesus, body and soul, ceased to live in the flesh, began to live in the spirit; ceased to live a fleshly, mortal life, began to live a spiritual resurrection life."

157. Bigg, *St Peter*, 136.

both pairs, a contrast exists between the material and the immaterial, a contrast seen too in 1 Peter's comparison of "salvation" with the σάρξ (1:23).¹⁵⁸

Secondly, Feldmeier presents evidence leading him to conclude, rightly, that 1 Peter contains an *anthropological* dualism in line with Hellenistic Judaism.¹⁵⁹ Since it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the plethora of occurrences of ψυχή in Philo, I will highlight two salient examples and refer the reader to Feldmeier's treatment of this topic.¹⁶⁰ Philo interprets God's destruction of the Egyptians (Exod 15:4) as God being the "ally, and defender, and protector" of the ψυχή against the "passions" (πάθος) in order to "grant/forgive" (χαρίζομαι) "salvation" (σωτηρία).¹⁶¹ In addition to its dualistic anthropology, this passage bears striking resemblance to 1 Pet 2:11 in its conception of a conflict between "passions" and the ψυχή. In another passage, not discussed by Feldmeier, Philo interprets the destruction of all flesh "moved" by the Flood (Gen 7:21-22). To Philo, motion is related to the destructive interplay between "flesh" (σάρξ) and "pleasures" (ἡδονή). Both excite the other, and this interplay causes the destruction of souls (ψυχή).¹⁶² Lastly, Wisdom of Solomon demonstrates a similar *anthropological* dualism saying "a perishable body (σῶμα) weighs down the soul (ψυχή), and this earthy tent burdens the thoughtful mind" (9:15). Further, Wisdom 15:11 not only evinces dualism with God breathing a ψυχή into the person,¹⁶³ but Wisdom also uses "soul" and "spirit" interchangeably as in 1 Peter.¹⁶⁴

Thus, 1 Peter depicts the inner part of the elect (ψυχή, cf. πνεῦμα, καρδία) as that aspect which will experience "glory" beyond physical death. Moreover, the "inner

158. Cf. 1 Pet 3:4, which refers to the "inner person" (ὁ κρυπτός τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος). Here, καρδία may be a circumlocution for ψυχή as a distinguishable aspect of the human person.

159. Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 149.

160. Ibid., 87–92.

161. E.g., Philo, *Ebr.* 111. As noted by Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 89.

162. E.g., Philo, *Qge* 2:22.

163. See Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 90. Cf. 4 Macc 13:15.

164. Cf. Wis 15:11, "because they failed to know the one who formed them and inspired them with active souls (ψυχή) and breathed a living spirit (πνεῦμα) into them."

person” is distinguishable from the “flesh” and its “desires.” This dualistic view of the person corresponds to ideas within both Hellenistic and Palestinian EJJ.

3.4.2.3 Psychological Dualism: The σάρξ and ἐπιθυμίας of the Elect

Are ἐπιθυμίας (“desires”) a problem for the elect? In other words, does 1 Peter exhibit psychological dualism?¹⁶⁵ To answer this question, it is fruitful to begin with how the author of 1 Peter describes the σάρξ and whether the ἐπιθυμίας of the elect are *inherently* evil.¹⁶⁶ These questions bear heavily on discussions of the new existence and means to live rightly.

Firstly, the term, ἐπιθυμία, occurs a total of 4x in 1 Peter, more than any other book of the NT except Romans [5x], a striking statistic for an epistle one fourth the size.¹⁶⁷ Secondly, ἐπιθυμίας characterize the lives of pagans (1:14) and constitute their existence in the σάρξ (4:3). For believers, *prior* to faith in Christ, ἐπιθυμίας controlled their behavior (1:14). The question is, *after* atonement, yet prior to Christ’s ἀποκάλυψις, does the σάρξ of the elect still contain these negative “desires,” and even more importantly, are ἐπιθυμίας as powerful, and thus as dangerous?

Unfortunately, according to 1 Peter, ἐπιθυμίας are pitted against God’s will (4:2) and threaten to prevent believers (2:11) from “living good lives” (2:12). Goppelt argues that the “fleshly lusts” (2:11) of believers are the “human lusts” (4:2) that shaped pre-Christian existence.¹⁶⁸ Rightly, he ascribes to ἐπιθυμίας the capacity to “crave” and to “promise and desire” in ways antithetical to God; moreover, ἐπιθυμίας have the capacity to suppress and destroy the ψυχή, “the ‘I’ that should be delivered

165. Defining psychological dualism, Gammie, “Dualism,” 358 writes, “the contrast between good and evil is internalized and seen to be an opposition not between groups of people but between principles or impulses waging battle within man.” See also, Frey, “Patterns,” 285.

166. “Lust, desire, passion.” In *BDAG*, entry 2958.

167. Cf. 1:14; 2:11; 4:2; 3. Always plural.

168. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 156.

into eternal life.”¹⁶⁹ Therefore, ἐπιθυμίας continue to reside within the σάρξ of believers, and left unchecked, lead to sinning.

If ἐπιθυμίας remain unchanged, has the Christ-event changed the σάρξ of the elect? Firstly, 1 Peter uses the term σάρξ (or its derivation) to refer to bodily, human existence.¹⁷⁰ The σάρξ is not discussed as an apocalyptic “power,” or the power of sin. While the author may have agreed with such thinking, it does not figure into his discussion. Instead, σάρξ is fleshly existence. Thus, all of life will be “in the flesh” (ἐν σαρκί, 4:2). To be human is to be finite and fleeting (1:24; cf. Isa 40:6 LXX). Therefore, in 1 Peter, the Christ-event does not change the σάρξ of the elect.

With respect to the σάρξ and ἐπιθυμίας, Achtemeier lists Rom 13:14 and Gal 5:24 as parallels to 2:11 “on the necessity to resist” the “desires of the flesh.”¹⁷¹ But in Galatians the σάρξ and ἐπιθυμίας have been “crucified,” and thus, defeated. 1 Peter, on the other hand, never refers to the σάρξ and ἐπιθυμία as having been crucified, defeated or removed. Instead, the author “urges” (παρακαλῶ) believers to be on guard against ἐπιθυμία within their σάρξ because it is an on-going enemy with real and substantial power to cause sinning. So, while atonement removed punishment for sins, it did not, according to 1 Peter, eradicate the “desires of the flesh” because the σάρξ has not changed and still contains ἐπιθυμίας.¹⁷² The σάρξ and the ἐπιθυμίας within it are a real and present danger.¹⁷³ According to the author, the struggle against sinning is a “war” because the ἐπιθυμίας battle within the elect until Christ returns.

Some, however, argue that 1 Peter refers to baptism as a spiritual circumcision

169. Ibid., 157.

170. E.g. a. finite existence on earth (1:24); b. bodily existence of Christ (3:18); c. bodily existence which contain ἐπιθυμίας that wage war against the ψυχή (2:11); d. physical body in baptism (3:21); e. bodily suffering of Christ and of believers (4:1 [2x]); f. existence lived pursuing either ἐπιθυμίας or “God’s will” (4:2); g. physical earthly lives (4:6).

171. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 175 n. 43.

172. Contra Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 156, cf. n. 10 who argues, “the σάρξ is not evil as such.” Such a view, he thinks, is attributable to Paul. In this, Goppelt draws upon Schweizer, “*TDNT*,” 101 n. 25 to conclude that σαρκικός “is not found earlier” than Paul. Yet, *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot* do present negative views of the flesh prior to the NT and Paul.

173. In the next chapter, I will discuss antecedents to this view in the *Hodayot*.

of the σὰρξ.¹⁷⁴ This argument points to 1 Peter's reference to the Flood, a *type* which prefigured baptism and salvation through faith in Christ. 1 Peter describes βάπτισμα, “not as a removal of dirt from the body, but as an appeal to God for a good conscience” (οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ρύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν, 3:21). Obviously, the significance of baptism is not in “removal” (ἀπόθεσις) of dirt, but what it is a removal of is more difficult to ascertain.¹⁷⁵ Despite the ambiguity, I will show that spiritual circumcision is not in view.

Beginning with the second half of the phrase in 3:21, the οὐ . . . ἀλλὰ contrast places the emphasis on the ἐπερώτημα. Papyrological evidence indicates that ἐπερώτημα meant a “contract” and thus a “pledge” implying “the registering of agreement to conditions or demands.”¹⁷⁶ Further, in a more narrow sense, ἐπερώτημα bears similarities with the ritual of admission at Qumran.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, since 1 Peter has made abundantly clear elsewhere that σωτηρία is through faith in Christ (1:4, 7, 9), the ἐπερώτημα in baptism refers to this pledge of faith, and, in a more narrow sense, a pledge of obedience to right conduct.¹⁷⁸ 1 Peter's emphasis, then, is that the pledge, an internal commitment to God, stands in contrast to external cleansing.¹⁷⁹

Against the view that “removal (ἀπόθεσις) of the flesh of dirt” relates baptism metaphorically to circumcision (cf. Col 2:11),¹⁸⁰ I raise two objections. Firstly, “pledge to God” (ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν) is immediately followed by “through the resurrection of Jesus Christ” (δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). Resurrection enables and empowers

174. Inferred, see Selwyn, *First Peter*, 204–5. For developed proposal, see Dalton, *Proclamation*, 215–24. In agreement, see Kelly, *Peter*, 161–62.

175. Reicke, *Disobedient*, 173.

176. See Reicke, *Disobedient*, 182–86. See also, Hill, “Baptism,” 187. That ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν means “an appeal to God,” see Michaels, *1 Peter*, 217.

177. Cf. IQS V 8-10 and also IQS I 20, 24 and II 10, 18-19, cited in Hill, “Baptism,” 188. See IQS I 16; V 7-8, in Knibb, *Qumran*, 82–83, 107, as cited by Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 271 n. 367.

178. See Hill, “Baptism,” 188. As “pledge of fidelity,” see Hill, “Sacrifices,” 60. See also, Reicke, *Disobedient*, 182–87 for whom ἐπερώτημα refers to a Christian who in baptism accepts the divine demand for a positive habit of mind in loyalty to God and man.

179. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 679.

180. That Col 2:11 “is the only time that baptism is related to circumcision in the letters attributed to Paul,” see Arnold, *Syncretism*, 296 n. 159.

the pledge.¹⁸¹ This corresponds with 1:3, where δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ also occurs and is the source of “a living hope.” Just as in chapter one where 1 Peter emphasizes σωτηρία as “through the resurrection of Jesus Christ,” so too in 3:21. As typological fulfillment of the HB flood story,¹⁸² baptism “saves” (σώζω) because God is acting “through the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”¹⁸³ It is God’s deliverance, his salvific action in history.¹⁸⁴ In a compact manner, then, 1 Peter has emphasized in 3:21, as he does in 1:3-9, that σωτηρία is a result of the resurrection.¹⁸⁵

Secondly, if circumcision were in view, then it would mean almost the opposite of Col 2:11.¹⁸⁶ Colossians favorably parallels Jewish circumcision and baptism, whereas, 1 Peter would be *contrasting* Jewish circumcision with baptism. A contrast between Christian baptism and Jewish circumcision, as Michaels rightly notes, would be at odds with the thought throughout the epistle. For the author of 1 Peter labors to detail how “the Jewish past” is the believers’ past. Furthermore, the author does not show “the slightest interest in either adopting or avoiding any of the laws or customs of Judaism.”¹⁸⁷

If spiritual circumcision is not in view, then why does 1 Peter emphasize what baptism is not, namely “a physical cleansing?”¹⁸⁸ Is it possible, in light of known pagan and Jewish initiatory sacraments and on-going rites, that the author of 1 Peter seeks to differentiate Christian baptism from human, external rites for purification?¹⁸⁹ The

181. Michaels, *1 Peter*, 218.

182. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 266.

183. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 267 n. 83.

184. So, Elliott, *1 Peter*, 672–73 rightly concludes, “the primary focus is on corresponding *saving events* . . . the relationship drawn between the saving of the household of Noah and the saving of the believers establishes a correspondence and continuity between protological and eschatological events of salvation.”

185. Kelly, *Peter*, 161.

186. Michaels, *1 Peter*, 215.

187. *Ibid.*

188. Reicke, *Disobedient*, 187.

189. *Contra* Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 268 n. 332 who objects to the argument “that the intention of this verse is to contrast Jewish and pagan lustrations through which the person becomes a new being, saved through this ritual, with baptism that is not such a magic transformation of the person.” Achtemeier’s objection does not apply. 1 Peter does not contrast “magic” transformation alleged in pagan rites with “non-magical” Christian baptism but *human, external, purificatory rites* with *God’s action* δι’ ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, his eschatological intervention to save.

author of 1 Peter emphasizes God's salvific initiative in the resurrection of Christ versus human agency in water rites. Firstly, evidence indicates the wide-spread existence of pagan mystery cults preceding and subsequent to the first century C.E.¹⁹⁰ Secondly, pagan cults, as religions through time and across cultures, draw upon the common motif of "death to life," a motif inherent in baptismal imagery.¹⁹¹ Thirdly, while evidence for immersion in water, like Christian baptism, is lacking among pagan mysteries, sprinkling or washing with water is used to symbolize purification among almost all of them.¹⁹² This similarity in usage of water and imagery evoking a broad spectrum of shared cultural metaphors could result in Christian baptism being understood along the lines of a pagan rite.

Further, texts from Judaism contemporary with 1 Peter provide the closest parallel to baptismal language in the NT.¹⁹³ Moreover, Josephus indicates that the "Essenes" (Ἐσσηνοί) bathe (ἀπολούομαι) their bodies in cold water (ὑδωρ) for purification (ἀγνεία).¹⁹⁴ Archaeological digs at Qumran found basins thought to be used for purification rites, corroborating textual evidence from the DSS that detail purification rites for initiates as well as members.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, in contrast to surrounding religious practices, 1 Peter's οὐ . . . ἀλλά contrast coupled with δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ serves to contrast human action with God's action, *not* (οὐ) external purificatory rites *but* (ἀλλά) eschatological salvation through the resurrection of Christ. In this, then, 1 Peter does not refer to baptism as spiritual circumcision, a view peculiar to Colossians.

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is clear that 1 Peter views the σάρξ of the elect as containing ἐπιθυμίας. This enemy within the elect contains the devastating

190. Wedderburn, *Baptism*, 90–163.

191. On situating the symbolism of death/life in Paul's baptismal language within the broader category of 'life-crisis rituals,' see Hubbard, *New Creation*, 79–90.

192. Burkert, *Ancient*, 101.

193. Pointing to the *Passover Liturgy's* phrase "he did redeem us with them," Wedderburn, *Baptism*, 343–44 argues that it provides evidence of "the idea of a ritual in which the participants find themselves, as it were, in some sense participants also in a past act of redemption."

194. Cf. Josephus, *J.W.*, 2.129.

195. E.g. CD X 10-13, see Knibb, *Qumran*, 92.

power not only to launch a “war” (στρατεύομαι, 2:11) but to imperil the “soul” by usurping God’s possession by force. 1 Peter’s exhortation is a call to arms. This line of thought begins as early as 1:14 where 1 Peter warns believers against “patterning” (συσχηματίζω) their lives after ἐπιθυμίας which characterized their pagan lives. The pagan life (4:3), the author explains, is antithetical to a holy life (1:15) after the “model” (ὑπογραμμός, 2:21) provided by Christ (2:21-25). But following Christ’s ὑπογραμμός meets the armed resistance of ἐπιθυμίας. Thus, 1 Peter exhorts believers to “arm themselves” (ὀπλίζομαι, 4:1) against “the desires of the flesh” (τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν). Just as the author warns believers of the *external* threat, the devil who seeks to devour them as a lion (5:8), he sounds the call to arms against the interior enemy. Believers must engage these enemies on both fronts or perish in non-resistance.

1 Peter’s warfare language and exhortations against human passions and sinning (4:1-2) provide further evidence that this struggle, a battle in microcosm of the eschatological battle between God and the forces of evil, presses upon the author’s mind. In what follows, I suggest that 1 Peter’s construction of believers’ new existence is similar in many respects to his cosmology. 1 Peter’s temporal periodization of history and spatial representation of the κόσμος provide a “map,” so to speak, of believers’ anthropology.

3.4.2.4 Future σωτηρία, Present Persecutions, and Imminent Judgment

1 Peter emphasizes the glorious, future-eschatological σωτηρία of the elect. While 1 Peter mentions in passing Christ’s ultimate, cosmic victory (3:22), the dominant and guiding *emphasis* centers on a coming-salvation. The present, in contrast, is a battle for believers, a war with evil. The epistle reflects a worldview in which evil remains within the elect and within the world until Christ returns. The “flesh” of the elect, constituted with ἐπιθυμίας, wars against them (2:11). The “devil” (διάβολος), their “adversary” (ἀντίδικος), is depicted graphically as a roaring, hungry lion who prowls

the earth seeking to “devour” believers (5:8). External struggles, then, are mirrored, in some respect, with interior struggles against “desires of the flesh.” Both enemies pose grave threats to the elect. Viewed together, the interior war mirrors the broader cosmic war in which the forces of evil (5:8) seek the destruction of the people of God (2:10). All is not bleak though.

In the *present*, believers may count on God’s blessings because He cares for them (5:7). In the midst of suffering external persecution, believers may take hope not only in Christ’s return, but also in God’s active work to bless them on earth (3:9-10).¹⁹⁶ Most importantly, the present, fraught as it is with struggles against ἐπιθυμίας, pagans, and the devil, is drawing to a close. The eschaton is on the horizon, and Christ’s present glory holds the promise of believers’ future glory.¹⁹⁷ Christ’s forthcoming revelation holds the promise that evil will be defeated, σωτηρία will be revealed, and the elect will receive “glory” (δόξα, 5:1, 4). Two motifs in 1 Peter serve to emphasize future-σωτηρία: the elect’s “hope” and Christ ἀποκάλυψις.

The author emphasizes a future, coming “salvation” (σωτηρία) which believers are to grow up into (2:2). Chester and Martin argue that the theme of “hope, itself based on the resurrection of Jesus,”¹⁹⁸ is the epistle’s theological center and gives it “a deep structural unity (1:3,13,21; 3:5,15,20).”¹⁹⁹ This hope, the “hope” of glory (δόξα) opens (1:3) and closes the epistle (5:1, 4, 10), undergirds the paraenetic exhortations.²⁰⁰ The author’s emphasis on a present “hope” (ἐλπίς) rests upon a future σωτηρία prefigured in the story of Christ. Because Christ endured far worse suffering yet now sits at the right hand of God (3:22), the recipients gain hope that the Great

196. Correctly, Neugebauer, “Deutung,” 79 draws attention to 1 Pet. 3:9-10 as indicating present hope while awaiting eschatological hope, thus 1 Peter echoes the promises of Jesus in Matt. 6:25-34, esp. v.33 that God takes away worry in the present.

197. As Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 68 writes, “what characterized Christ’s past now characterizes the Christians’ present, and what characterizes Christ’s present will characterize the Christians’ future.”

198. Chester and Martin, *Theology*, 88.

199. Chester and Martin, *Theology*, 131.

200. Thurén, *Argument*, 202–3.

Shepherd (5:4) will return (1:3-5,7,9,13,21; 2:2,6; 3:7,9; 4:13; 5:4,5,6) to deliver their inheritance currently laid up in heaven (1:4).

Based on the cross and resurrection, 1 Peter divides history into three epochs: *past*, *present* and *future* to inform divine and human activity.²⁰¹ The historical past is defined as events prior to Christ's suffering and resurrection, events designed by God to both point to and culminate in a radical new understanding of both the cosmos and the movement of history. The present includes Christ sitting at the right hand of God in heaven (3:22), and the recipients undergoing unjust suffering from pagans. The future holds the promise of Christ's ἀποκάλυψις and the eschatological end (τέλος). Of the three epochs, 1 Peter foregrounds the future because it promises Christ's return and eschatological judgment, events almost visible on the horizon. As the author writes, the culmination of history appears imminent. The recipients are living at the "end of the ages" (ἔσχατος τῶν χρόνων, 1:20). The τέλος of all things is near (4:7; cf. 1:5). Thus, the author stresses that the "time" (καιρός) of judgment has come (4:17) so the household of God must ready themselves (4:18). Soon, Christ will return because God is "ready" (ἐτοίμως) to judge the living and the dead (4:5).

Like history, σωτηρία in 1 Peter occurs in three stages. In the past, God chose believers in his foreknowledge (1:2) and chose Christ before the foundation of the world (1:20). In the past, the prophets, led by the Spirit, prophesied about the coming salvation in Christ (1:10-12). And in the past, Christ died on the cross for sins (2:24; 3:18) and was raised and glorified by God (1:21; 3:21-22). In the present, believers experience many aspects of salvation.²⁰² Believers are: "born again" (ἀναγεννήσας, 1:3, 23; cf. 2:2), shielded by God's power (1:5), God's children (1:14), redeemed (1:18), purified (1:22), being built into a spiritual temple (2:5), made into the people of God (2:9-10), forgiven of sins (2:24), returned to the Shepherd and Overseer of their souls (2:25), received a gift (4:10), and have the Spirit rest on them (4:14).

201. On a similar periodization of history and apocalyptic worldview in *1 Enoch*, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 38.

202. Webb, "Intertexture," 84 n. 33.

Yet, each of these glorious gifts points towards and is in preparation for a salvation that is to come. The conclusion of God's foreordained plan (1:10-12) brings the τέλος of faith, that is the "salvation of your souls" (1:9) and the τέλος of those who disbelieve the gospel. Temporally, 1 Peter emphasizes that salvation is something to "grow into" (ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αὐξηθῇτε εἰς σωτηρίαν, 2:2).²⁰³ This is seen in that present "hope" (ἐλπίς) is "living" (ζάω, 1:3), testifying to an "inheritance" (κληρονομία) currently kept in heaven (1:4).²⁰⁴ Salvation, while inaugurated, is heavily weighted as that which is ready to be revealed in the last time (1:5), an outcome dependent upon faith proven genuine (1:9). 1 Peter exhorts believers to "set their hope" (ἐλπίζω, 1:13) on this forth-coming "grace" (χάρις) brought when Jesus Christ returns. 1 Peter utilizes "grace," like "inheritance" and "glory," as a synonym for future σωτηρία.²⁰⁵ Hardly a static and appropriated gift, these terms point towards a forth-coming reward, a "glory" like Christ's when Christ is "revealed" (ἀποκάλυψις, 1:7; cf. 1:9; 4:13; 5:1, 4). Therefore, just as believers must live in the tension of their social circumstances, they also must live in the intervening period until present ἐλπίς and future ἐλπίς are united at Christ's return (1:7, 13; 4:13).

Future salvation is the time in which "desires of the flesh" will be removed. Removal of ἐπιθυμίας and transformation of the σὰρξ must await the appearance of the Chief Shepherd (5:4) when the elect who are to share in the "glory to be revealed" (5:1) will receive a "crown of glory" (5:4). Presumably, then, the elect will obtain a glorified existence like Christ's who presently resides in heaven. Only then will they be freed from ἐπιθυμίας within their σὰρξ. While the author never explicitly discusses believers' future existence after God's judgment, he clearly states that future salvation is a glorious inheritance, indicating the eradication of ἐπιθυμίας in whatever form the σὰρξ takes.

203. On "1 Peter's future-oriented paraenetic motivation," see Piper, "Hope," 229.

204. On the "psychological dynamics" of how a future hope motivates present behavior, see Piper, "Hope," 217.

205. Cf. κληρονομία (1:4); χάρις (1:10, 13), and δόξα (1:11, 21; 5:1, 4, 10).

The dénouement of the “story” which began with Christ before the foundation of the world (1:20) will culminate at his return when God will judge the living and the dead (4:5).²⁰⁶ God’s imminent judgment presses down upon the recipients. The author warns that the end is near (4:7): it is difficult for even the righteous to be saved (4:18). Thus, the author locates the recipients’ battle against “the desires of the flesh” (2:11) and exhorts them to “arm themselves” with Christ’s attitude so that they are done with sin (4:1) in the dramatic conclusion to salvation history.

3.4.2.5 Identity as God’s Earthly Temple-Community

In line with the HB and trends in Wisdom and Apocalyptic traditions,²⁰⁷ 1 Peter evinces a dualistic cosmology. The exalted Christ exists *solely* in the “heavens” until his return to earth at his “revelation.” Believers exist solely on earth awaiting his return to experience heavenly privileges. The spatial map depicts a distance between the present location of Christ and the present location of God’s temple-community.

Believers’ anthropology reflects this cosmological distance between Christ and believers, a fact heightened by comparison with Colossians. 1 Peter does not refer to Christ’s indwelling of believers and only hints at the Spirit doing so. I am not saying the author of 1 Peter would argue against the Spirit/Christ indwelling believers. Instead, I point to the author’s *emphasis* in which interiorization of Christ(’s Spirit) plays a minor role as an enabler within the new existence to live rightly. This may be detected through the metaphorical description of the community and through the language describing Christ’s movement between cosmological realms. This will shed light on the extent to which the author emphasizes the Spirit/Christ indwelling the elect as an enabler to live rightly.

206. See Windisch, *Katholische*, 75 who views this theme in 1 Peter as drawing upon traditional material.

207. Noting the development of spatial and ethical dualism in the HB and EJJ, Gammie, “Dualism,” 363, 364, 366, 370 demonstrates how wisdom literature, over time, heightens the marked heaven-earth dualism, a trend picked up by Apocalyptic literature.

3.4.2.5.1 The New Existence: A Temple-Community, but Mystical Union?

Does 1 Peter conceive of “sharing” (κοινωνέω, 4:13; cf. 1:11; 4:1) in the sufferings of Christ along the lines of mystical union in the Pauline corpus? As I discussed, in the worldview of the author, suffering accompanies the new existence. Therefore, κοινωνέω carries the sense of participation in suffering as God’s eschatological people.²⁰⁸ As I also noted in chapter two, scholars are mixed as to whether κοινωνέω conveys the sense of mystical union. On the one hand, 1 Peter does convey the sense of “the solidarity of suffering believers with their suffering Lord (2:18-25; cf. 3:13-22),” an aspect of discipleship related to taking up one’s cross as found within the Gospels.²⁰⁹ On the other hand, the ambiguity of κοινωνέω in 4:13 leads many scholars to reject outright the presence of mystical union in 1 Peter.²¹⁰

The metaphorical description of the new existence provides clues. Firstly, 1 Peter refers to believers, collectively, as a “spiritual house” (οἶκος πνευματικός, 2:5) and “house of God” (οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ, 4:17) founded “on” Christ. This imagery from the HB and EJJ of the Temple (conveying the presence of God) and of God’s house (referring to Israel), is metaphorically applied to the community of believers.²¹¹ In the DSS, these terms refer to a small sub-set within Judaism who viewed themselves as God’s elect “temple-community” possessing God’s spirit.²¹² 1 Peter 2, in like fashion,

208. The so-called “messianic woes” may be defined, writes Dubis, *Messianic*, 101 as “that period of eschatological distress that early Judaism anticipated as occurring immediately prior to the Messiah’s advent (here in 1 Peter, unlike Judaism, the *second* advent).”

209. Though, Elliott, *1 Peter*, 775–76 concedes that Paul never uses κοινωνέω “for sharing in the sufferings of Christ.”

210. See Best, *1 Peter*, 162; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 262; Davids, *1 Peter*, 166; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 306.

211. Cf. 2 Sam 12:20; Isa 2:2; Neh 13:11; Bar 3:24; Jda 18:31; Tob 14:4, 5.

212. Cf. IQS V. 5ff., VIII. 4ff., IX. 3ff.; 4Q Florilegium, 4QpIsa^d fr. I., in Gärtner, *Temple*, 22, 27, 30–35. In 4QpIsa^d fr. I, a *peshet* on Isaiah, Gärtner, *Temple*, 42–43 notes that “the community, consisting of ‘priest’ and ‘people’, makes up a house of God. The image is further divided, in such a way that the foundations of the building are said to be the priests, while the members of the community, ‘the elect’, are the ‘stones’, the actual superstructure of the building.”

“contains the most explicit statement of temple symbolism” in the New Testament.²¹³

There the author interprets the community of believers as God’s elect “temple-community” founded upon the death and resurrection of Christ, the “cornerstone” (ἀκρογωνία, 2:6). Additional temple imagery is seen in the description of believers as a “holy priesthood” (ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, 2:5) and “priestly kingdom” (βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, 2:9).²¹⁴ By reinterpreting these metaphors, describing them as “spiritual” (πνευματικός, 2:5), and saying that the Spirit of God (τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα) “rests upon” (ἀναπαύω, 4:14) the community, the author of 1 Peter signals that the eschatological out-pouring of the Spirit has occurred.²¹⁵ It is of note, though, that the author’s representation of believers as “living stones” (λίθοι ζῶντες, 2:5) is unique among NT authors.²¹⁶ However, the author’s pattern of thought corresponds to some early Jewish texts such as the *Hodayot* which, like 1 Peter, appears to be quoting from, and interpreting, God’s promises in Isa 28:16 as occurring to their own community.²¹⁷ While this metaphorical description of the new existence signals the cognitive milieu of the author, it does not lend weight to the argument for mystical union.

3.4.2.5.2 The Spirit of God on the Community and Eschatological Salvation

Does 1 Peter emphasize *interiorization* of the Spirit? In 1:2, the author indicates that the recipients are the “elect” (ἐκλεκτός) “according to the foreknowledge of God the

213. Rightly, Gärtner, *Temple*, 72.

214. Also, Gärtner, *Temple*, 78–79 discusses 4QpIsa^d fg 1 as “illustrating the way in which the members of the Qumran community were described as ‘stones’ . . . What is particularly interesting here is that the text symbolizes the two groups, ‘priest’ and ‘people’, as ‘sapphires’ and ‘stones’.” Also, Gärtner, *Temple*, 81–84 points to CD iii 19–iv. 3 arguing it provides “part of the background to 1 Pet. 2 because it may be the first time where the term ‘priests’ is applied to each and every member of the community.”

215. Rightly, Gärtner, *Temple*, 73.

216. Gärtner, *Temple*, 75.

217. Rightly, Gärtner, *Temple*, 77 argues, “if we compare IQH vi. 25 ff. with IQS viii. 4 ff., which speaks of the community as ‘the tested wall’, נִחְבָּה תְּמוֹנָה, ‘the precious corner-stone’, תִּנִּיף, and states that ‘its foundations, יְסוּדֵי, shall not be shaken and shall not be removed from their place, a most holy dwelling place for Aaron.’ . . . This text, too, refers back to Isa xxviii. 16f., and describes the community as a holy building which will stand for ever.”

Father ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος.” In this phrase, the instrumental dative (ἐν) most likely refers to the Spirit as the operative agent effecting God’s “foreknowledge” (πρόγνωσις).²¹⁸ Thereby, the author refers to the Spirit consecrating believers into an elect community (cf. Exod 24), not to an on-going process of “sanctification.”²¹⁹ But, after consecration, what is the role of Spirit in the new existence?

According to 1:11, the Spirit in-dwelt HB prophets who prophesied concerning Christ. On the one hand, this verse paves the way for interiorization of the Spirit as a viable conceptual category for the author. But, since prophets are in view, it is hard to judge whether in-dwelling of the Spirit pertains to every believer. In 1:12, the Spirit plays an instrumental role in gospel proclamation. Yet, this guidance does not necessitate permanent presence. The reference in 3:18 pertains to Christ and is not relevant. This leaves the fifth and final Spirit reference in 4:14.

Alluding to Isa 11:2 and echoing other HB passages, 1 Peter clearly indicates that the Spirit rests “upon” (ἐπὶ) the community.²²⁰ The presence of the Spirit is in itself a sign to the community that they are God’s restored, eschatological, people.²²¹ To some scholars, this verse reflects 1 Peter drawing from the Jesus tradition,²²² in which the presence of the Spirit is an *occasional* manifestation upon believers during times of suffering.²²³ On the other hand, Achtemeier, rightly I think, points to the “gift” (χάρισμα, 4:10) given to each believer, a gift associated elsewhere in the NT

218. See Jobes, *1 Peter*, 69–70. Also, Feldmeier, *1 Peter*, 57 who notes that 1:2, like 1:10, 20; 2:8, 9, forms a nascent teaching of divine determination “before time.”

219. In agreement with Jobes, *1 Peter*, 72–73 who views “obedience and sprinkling of blood” in 1:2c as a hendiadys (two words, one idea) alluding to Exod 24:3-8 and God’s covenant with his people Israel.

220. Representing fulfillment of the Hebrew scriptures by the Christian community and not arising from scribal error, see Michaels, *1 Peter*, 264–65. In agreement, Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 308. Cf. Exod 24:17; Num 11:25f.; 29:43; Psa 89:17.

221. Rightly, Dubis, *Messianic*, 123 notes that, “the presence of the Spirit in 4:14 is an indicator of 1 Peter’s inaugurated eschatology. Indeed, the outpouring of the Spirit of God is one of the important eschatological blessings that Jews expected at the time of restoration (Joel 2:28; Ezek 36:26-28; 37:14; 39:29; *T. Jud.* 24:2-3).”

222. Cf. Matt 10:19-20; 12:11-12; Luke 21:13-15; John 14:26; 16:7-11.

223. E.g., Beare, *First Peter*, 192; Kelly, *Peter*, 187; Best, *1 Peter*, 163–64; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 324.

with the on-going presence of the Spirit in believers.²²⁴ Based on this, he interprets interiorization of the Spirit as a permanent aspect of the new existence in 1 Peter. This last argument supports the conclusion that the author views the Spirit as permanently indwelling believers, and during times of persecution, providing further manifestations of final δόξα.²²⁵

Overall, Beare's conclusion that the doctrine of the Spirit "is singularly undeveloped in the Epistle" finds support.²²⁶ Yet, Martin's critique of Beare that the Spirit's role "is perhaps more pervasive than the few references would suggest" offers a wise cautionary note.²²⁷ Nevertheless, the author provides scant evidence that he views interiorization of the Spirit as a key enabler to live rightly.

3.4.2.5.3 Cosmological Location of Christ with Respect to the Elect

1 Peter's anthropological picture mirrors in many respects its cosmological map. With respect to Christ and the new existence of the elect, 1 Peter never describes Christ as "in" a believer. Instead, Christ is the foundation of the temple-community. 1 Peter never refers to believers, individually or collectively, as "in" Christ or spatially "above" (ἄνω) with God/Christ (cf. Col 3:1-2). Instead, believers inhabit the "earthly" realm, and Christ inhabits the "heavenly" realm at God's right hand (3:22). The cosmological picture depicts the elect as residing in the "earthly" sphere while Christ is in the "heavenly" sphere (3:22). Temporally, σωτηρία is "readied" (ἔτοιμος) "to be revealed in the last time" (ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ). Christ will bring σωτηρία (1:5, 9, 10, 2:2; cf. κληρονομία; 1:4; χάρις, 1:10, 13; δόξα, 1:11, 21; 5:1, 4, 10) when he returns. Temporally, believers live their remaining time "in the flesh" awaiting final

224. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 309.

225. As a backdrop to 1 Pet 4:14, see Acts 7:55 where similar themes occur: (1) suffering persecution, (2) filling with the Spirit, (3) 'glory of God', and (4) Jesus at God's right hand, cf. 1 Pet. 3:22.

226. Beare, *First Peter*, 55.

227. Ralph P. Martin, "Theology," 117, 119.

glory (ἐν σαρκί, 4:2; cf. 5:4). In 1 Peter, then, the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (3:16; 5:10, 14) describes the elect as members of God's people, his eschatological temple-community, founded through Christ's death and resurrection, who are to be saved from final judgment when Christ returns.

3.4.2.5.4 Movement Between the Spheres and Location of the Elect

The language of movement between the realms, related to Christ and the Spirit, further serves to heighten the distinction between the “fleshly” existence of the elect and the “heavenly” existence of Christ. It signals distinctions between the ontologies of the elect in the present and in the future. The movement of Spirit and Christ, from “heaven” (οὐρανός) to earth, outside of and apart from the elect, signals that: (1) believers, in their “fleshly” existence, do not presently participate with God in the “heavenlies”, and (2) believers' future, glorified, existence is meant to be understood through the lens of Christ's *present*, glorified, and “spiritual” existence.

The language of movement conveys a separation between Christ and believers.²²⁸ Christ's “journeying” (πορεύομαι, 3:19, 22) further indicates that the author perceives a divide between the “earthly” and “heavenly” realms. In 3:19, 1 Peter depicts Christ as “journeying” to the “spirits in prison.” Many difficult and inter-related exegetical issues bear upon interpretation and are beyond the scope of this study.²²⁹ For my purposes, if Christ's “going” (πορεύομαι) occurred between his death and resurrection or after his resurrection but before his ascension (as opposed to his preaching to contemporaries of Noah in his state of preexistence), then Christ's “preaching” to the “spirits” in prison occurred in the πνεῦμα within a sphere inaccessible in the σὰρξ. Such language serves to heighten the distinction between a spiritual and an earthly realm. Further, in 3:22, 1 Peter indicates that Christ, after

228. Compare the Johannine descent/ascent motif which conveys union.

229. For a concise summary of five exegetical questions in 3:19 and the major solutions proposed, see Omanson, “Suffering,” 441–44.

resurrection, “journeyed” (πορεύομαι) “into heaven” (εἰς οὐρανόν), a realm which he and God, but no σάρξ, currently inhabit.

The language of movement creates a vivid, multi-dimensional map of the cosmos. Christ is in heaven and the Spirit is “sent from heaven” (ἀποστέλλω ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ, 1:12). The elect, who are in the σάρξ, inhabit the earth. Even for Christ, movement between the “heavenly” and “earthly” realms does not occur in the σάρξ, but in the πνεύματι (cf. 3:18). This movement from one sphere to another focuses attention on a distinction between the two discreet spheres. The elect’s existence, in the present, is thoroughly “fleshly,” like the sphere they inhabit. There is no indication that believers in a “fleshly” existence transcend this cosmological and ontological boundary. The future holds the promise of an existence like Christ’s, depicted as “heavenly” like the sphere which he and God inhabit, but in the present, the author’s *emphasis* centers on a new identity as God’s eschatological people, not a new existence characterized by interiorization of Christ/the Spirit.

To summarize, examination of 1 Peter’s cosmological language illuminates the author’s depiction of the anthropology of the elect. Believers are described as a newly formed, eschatological community, founded on Christ’s death and resurrection, with the Spirit primarily depicted as resting upon the community. It is this sense in which believers are described as “in” Christ. Although the Spirit consecrates believers (1:3) and rests upon believers (4:14), his interiorization is not emphasized. Discussion of the divine *permeating* (“in”) believers, or conversely, believers *permeating* (“in”) the divine is, with respect to Christ, muted at best (e.g., the ambiguity in 4:13), and with respect to the Spirit, minimal. What can be said, though, is that believers are completely bound to this material, earthly, “fleshly” sphere. Although depicted as a “spiritual house” (οἶκος πνευματικός, 2:5), a temple-community with the Spirit on (ἐπὶ) them (4:14), it is nevertheless an earthly existence in the σάρξ. 1 Peter’s language does not present believers as inhabiting, or being transferred to, the “heavenly” realm, the abode of God and Christ. While the Christ-event removed “sins,” believers’ existence as σάρξ inhibits participation in the “heavenlies.”

3.5 Suffering and Ceasing to Sin

Building on the preceding discussion, I will explore how suffering functions in the new existence to enable living rightly. Firstly, the suffering of Jesus is unique.²³⁰ The removal of sins occurred through Christ's innocent suffering, death and resurrection.²³¹ Believers' suffering does not relate to salvation in 1 Peter. Secondly, although "sins" are removed, the "flesh" and its "fleshly desires" (τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, 2:11) remain. Therefore, something else is required to live rightly.

At the outset of this chapter, I discussed five aspects of 1 Peter's suffering theology, namely that suffering is: God's will for the elect, an opportunity for "doing good," a witness, an aspect of the 'end of days,' and a test of the genuineness of faith. This discussion: (a) demonstrated the multi-dimensional character of suffering in 1 Peter, (b) mapped out 1 Peter's theological worldview in which suffering functions to accomplish God's purposes, and (c) cleared the ground for the following discussion of a sixth function of suffering.

In what follows, I will argue that humbly trusting in God while submitting to unjust persecution conquers "fleshly desires" thus enabling the elect to live rightly. This function of suffering has been overlooked by scholarship. Since all believers will necessarily undergo suffering for Christ, the author exhorts believers to choose to suffer like Christ. Jesus's model of entrusting himself to God in the midst of unjust suffering is the paradigmatic attitude and response to unjust suffering. A result of this attitude, I argue, is that believers' own wills are placed under the dominion of God's will and thus, led by God, believers are able to cease from sinning.

230. Rightly, Windisch, *Katholische*, 65 says that Jesus' "Leiden ist stellvertretend . . . , also in seiner Bedeutung unnachahmlich ist."

231. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 203 n. 199.

3.5.1 Following in Christ's Footsteps (2:21, 24)

The author of 1 Peter indicates that following Christ's paradigmatic suffering provides believers with the ability to cease sinning and live rightly. While interpreting Christ as the Suffering Servant, 1 Peter utilizes two ἵνα clauses to make this very point (2:21, 24). As discussed earlier, believers are "called" (καλέω, 2:21) to endure unjust suffering while doing good (2:20). The ground of the exhortation (ὅτι) is that Christ "suffered" (πάσχω) on their behalf, leaving an "example" (ὕπογραμμός, 2:21) "so that" (ἵνα) believers "may follow" (ἐπακολουθέω). The second ἵνα clause (2:24b) concludes the author's train of thought, namely that following Christ's model results in the ability to cease sinning and live for righteousness.

In what follows, I will explore how the two ἵνα clauses (2:21, 24) work together, that is how suffering in the manner like Christ enables living sinlessly like Christ. I argue that reading v. 21 and v. 24 in relation to one another provides a glimpse into 1 Peter's theology of defeating the desires of the flesh in order to "be holy" (1:15). The problem is that the "desires" of the flesh remain and war within believers. The question is "*How* are the elect to engage in this battle with 'desires' residing within their flesh?"

Firstly, in suffering (ἔπαθεν), Christ was "leaving an example" (ὕπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν, 2:21). The author combines the extremely rare word ὑπολιμπάνω ("leaving behind") with the equally rare term ὑπογραμμός ("a model of behavior, example") to convey the sense of an instructor drawing letters for pupils to trace for learning the alphabet.²³² The classroom "air" to ὑπογραμμός, Kelly notes, later came to mean a pattern or model in general.²³³ Thus, the phrase refers to tracing after a pattern to develop the ability to reproduce that pattern. Goppelt insightfully clarifies that a ὑπογραμμός, once given, "places one under obligation," so it functions, not as

232. That ὑπογραμμός is not found in the LXX nor elsewhere in the NT, see Selwyn, *First Peter*, 179.

233. See, *BDAG*, entry 7597. See also Kelly, *Peter*, 120.

an example *per se*, but as an obligation from the summons that follows.²³⁴ This obligation is made clear by the next phrase: “so that you would follow in his steps” (2:21).²³⁵ Taken together, the author links discipleship with suffering.²³⁶ The first ἵνα clause (2:21), then, indicates the purpose behind Christ’s example.²³⁷

In 2:24, the phrase ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι (“may cease from sinning”), is the *result* of “following in Christ’s footsteps,” and it provides the theological link between “following in Christ’s footsteps” (2:21) and living “for righteousness” (2:24b). Based on the discussion in Section 3.4 “The Christ-Event and Present Effects,” ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι does not refer to the removal of “sins.” Instead, it should be understood to refer to ceasing from the act of “sinning” (cf. 4:1-2). Two exegetical issues bear on this argument, namely how to understand the dative, plural noun (ἁμαρτίαις) and the participle (ἀπογενόμενοι).

To begin with, the phrase should not be translated in the perfect tense indicating a completed cessation from sin.²³⁸ Older English translations appear to have followed Bigg, *et. al.* incorrectly translating this phrase. The ASV, for example, reads “having died unto sins” and its update, the NRSV, fares no better with “free from sins.” A complicating issue here is that the term ἁμαρτία occurs twice in 2:24.²³⁹ Bigg, and those following him, appear to have understood both instances of ἁμαρτία in the same manner. But, I argue, this is incorrect.

The first half of 2:24 refers to atonement, explaining that Christ bore away “sins” in his body on the tree. The second occurrence should be rendered along the lines of “sinning,” the ongoing struggle with “sinful desires” (cf. 2:11; 4:1). More

234. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 204.

235. The phrase “is found verbatim only in Philo.” See Philo, *Virtues*, 1:64; cf. Philo, *Flight*, 1:78–81. As noted in Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 205 n. 19.

236. Michaels, *1 Peter*, 144.

237. In agreement with Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 199 n. 143.

238. See Bigg, *St Peter*, 148 who interprets ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι as “having been loosed unto (from) sins.” Finding the dative difficult to grasp, he nevertheless interprets it as the antithesis to τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν. Likewise, Selwyn, *First Peter*, 181 views the phrase as the “effect of the atonement . . . an actual abandonment of sin” translated as “having ceased from” or “having abandoned.”

239. Cf. 1 Pet 2:24, ἁμαρτίας (accus. fem. plur.) and ἁμαρτίαις (dat. fem. plur.).

recent translations, correctly I think, align with a conditional rendering “may cease from sinning.”²⁴⁰ This conditional phrase hints at the believer’s agency, and it brings in view the unknown outcome of their interior war. As God’s redeemed people, believers may cease from sinning.²⁴¹ But, “desires of the flesh” threaten this outcome (2:11). The conditional phrase, ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι, then, reminds the recipients that the battle is yet to be won with their interior “fleshly desires” (2:11).²⁴² The larger context aids in grasping this point.

In 2:10, 1 Peter ends a magnificent description of believers’ new existence as “the people of God” who are to “proclaim” (ἐξαγγέλλω, 2:9) in word and deed the excellencies of God. Building on this description of the new existence and its requisite calling, 2:11 begins a new section with the combination of an address, Ἀγαπητοί, and an exhortation “to abstain from sinful desires” (ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν). This exhortation opens the section (2:11-25), reiterates the earlier exhortation to “be holy” (1:15-16), and raises awareness of a major obstacle to fulfillment.

In summary: one purpose of Christ’s suffering is that it serves as an “example” (ὕπογραμμός) for believers to follow (2:21). I will detail in the next section the *praxis* of following Christ’s example, that is how believers do so. The *result* of following Christ’s example is clear, namely that believers may cease from sinning and live rightly. In other words, *suffering enables ceasing from sinning*. The author’s theology in 2:11-25 is that Christ left his suffering example for the purpose of believers following in his steps so that they may cease from sinning (because suffering conquers “desires of the flesh”) and live rightly.

240. E.g., NAU; NIV; ESV; TNIV; NET.

241. The verb ἀπογίνομαι is a *hapax legomenon*. In Burer, *et. al*, NET, 602 n. 12 translators argue the verb functions as a “euphemism, with the meaning ‘to be away’ or ‘to depart’; as a metaphor, it refers to the decisive separation from sin Jesus accomplished for believers through his death; the result is that believers ‘may cease from sinning’.” See also, Michaels, *1 Peter*, 148.

242. That ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις is as a dative of reference (“with reference to sins”) see, Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 202. Also, Selwyn, *First Peter*, 181.

3.5.2 Intra-textuality and the ἔννοια of Christ (4:1-2, 19)

Considering the prominence of suffering in the author's worldview, coupled with his exhortations to overcome "fleshly desires," follow Christ's example, and be holy, I will examine 4:1-2, 19 next. In these verses, I argue that the author draws from and refers back to 2:11-25 with the goal that believers adopt Christ's ἔννοια of entrusting himself to God while suffering unjustly. The result is that "desires of the flesh" are conquered and believers cease to sin.

A key to interpreting 4:1-2, 19 in this way is recognizing the centrality of Christ's ἔννοια for the author, a fact often overlooked in scholarly discussions on these verses.²⁴³ Christ's paradigmatic response and example (cf. 2:23) center on his "attitude" (ἔννοια). To support this conclusion, I will: (1) demonstrate that 1 Peter, through intra-textual quotes and allusions in 3:8-22 reminds the reader of the ideas developed in 2:11-25 (esp. vv. 21-24), (2) explicate the enigmatic phrase in 4:1 "the one who suffers is done with sin" by utilizing insights from the preceding analysis, and (3) explain precisely the meaning of Christ's ἔννοια (2:23) including its function in enabling believers to live rightly (4:1; cf. 4:19).

The resumptive οὖν beginning 4:1 signals that the upcoming discussion is based on the preceding theology.²⁴⁴ The question, though, is to what does οὖν refer? Some scholars, such as Michaels, argue 3:18 is the referent for οὖν.²⁴⁵ I disagree. While 3:18-22 immediately precedes, I argue that verses 8-22 of chapter three have linguistic and thematic ties with 2:21-24, so that, at 4:1, the reader ruminates upon, but does not stop at, 3:18 on the journey back to 2:21-24. As I will discuss, the ideas in 3:18 are a

243. E.g., Blazen, "Cessation," 44 concludes that ἔννοια refers to the "thought of Christ's suffering for righteousness' sake and his consequent victorious lordship (3:18-4:1)." For Blazen, ἔννοια means "the consideration of a question or fact," and this fact is Christ's suffering in the flesh and defeat of the hostile powers. This "fact," I argue, is not the meaning of ἔννοια in 4:1. In 4:1, the author's *primary* focus is Christ's ἔννοια of entrusting himself to God, the one who judges justly (2:23).

244. See Selwyn, *First Peter*, 208; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 277.

245. See Michaels, *1 Peter*, 225. See also, Beare, *First Peter*, 178.

summary of the thoughts in 2:21-24, the epistle's theological center and key to interpreting 4:1.

The author's rhetorical strategy in 3:18-22 involves recapitulating 2:21-25, bringing in view the blessing of salvation developed in 1:3-2:3.²⁴⁶ Thurén is certainly correct that the "story" of Christ in 3:18-22, including its purpose and result, is coherent.²⁴⁷ This salvation "story" sits between two paraenetic pericopes (3:8-17; 4:1-6) evincing a pattern of paraenesis-theology-paraenesis.²⁴⁸ This pattern is first seen in 2:11-3:7. Exhortations in 2:11-20 are provided warrants in 2:21-25 which the author follows with paraenesis in 3:1-7. Thus the pattern is:

2:11-20 paraenesis --> 2:21-25 theology --> 3:1-7 paraenesis
 3:8-17 paraenesis --> 3:18-22 theology --> 4:1-6 paraenesis

If the pattern holds, and if 2:21-25 is the theological core, then 3:18-22 may be summarizing or reminding the recipients of the "salvation history" metanarrative.

In 3:8-17, paraenesis includes responding to insults with blessings (3:9), restraining speech (3:10), doing good (3:11, 13, 14, 16), and providing a gentle "reason" (ἀπολογία, 3:15) to pagans' for their "hope" (ἐλπίς). The warrant is "because" (ὅτι, 3:18) Christ suffered, i.e. the "story" of Christ (3:18-22). Then, paraenesis resumes in 4:1-6, matching the pattern of 2:11-3:7. Why, though, would the author establish such a pattern? I suggest the purpose is to restate, clarify, and expand upon themes developed in 2:11-25, particularly the theology given in 2:21-25.

As support, I will demonstrate linguistic and conceptual links between 2:11-25 and 3:8-22. In the chart below, I have listed references that demonstrate a consistent pattern where the author repeats lexical phrases and ideas from 2:11-25 in 3:8-22.²⁴⁹

246. The intra-textual quotes and allusions indicate that 2:21-24 is Peter's primary focus which flows out of the line of thought in 2:11-25, itself building upon the concept of "salvation" enumerated in 1:3-2:3.

247. Rightly, Thurén, *Argument*, 159–60 views this 'story' as foreshadowing the addressees' glorious future.

248. See Dryden, *Paraenetic* who rightly details 1 Peter's use of a *heilsgeschichtliche* metanarrative to undergird paraenesis. Yet, Doering, "Diaspora," 232 aptly critiques that "he makes too little of Jewish epistolary paraenesis."

249. NB: underline indicates use of same lexical term; **bold words** indicate phrases with matching concepts and ideas (allusion). Regarding identification of allusions, Hughes, *Allusions*, 52, 53 notes the initial criterion "is . . . verbal similarity" and the second is that the text "directs the

2:11 - 25



3:8 - 22

ὃς πάσχω οὐκ ἡπείλει (2:23)	μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ (3:9)
ὃς <u>λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ</u> (2:23)	ἢ <u>λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας</u> (3:9)
<u>εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε</u> (2:21)	ὅτι <u>εἰς τοῦτο ἐκλήθητε</u> (3:9)
οὐδὲ εὗρέθη <u>δόλος</u> ἐν τῷ <u>στόματι</u> αὐτοῦ (2:22)	τὴν <u>γλῶσσαν</u> ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ.... ... <u>χείλη</u> τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι <u>δόλον</u> (3:10)
<u>ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν</u> (2:12)	<u>ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλεῖσθε</u> (3:16)
<u>τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθοποιῶντας</u> (2:15)	<u>ἀγαθοποιῶντας</u> , εἰ θέλοι <u>τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ</u> (3:17)
<u>ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν</u> ²⁵⁰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (2:21)	<u>ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἄπαξ</u> περὶ <u>ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν</u> , (3:18a)
ὃς τὰς <u>ἁμαρτίας</u> ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνῆνεγκεν (2:24)	
<u>ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον</u> (2:24)	<u>θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ</u> (3:18b)

A number of striking elements appear in the chart above. Firstly, the vast majority of parallels are with 2:21-24, the core christological section that quotes and alludes to Isa 53. Secondly, 3:8-22 quotes heavily from Psa 34:12-16 to accentuate Christ's response to suffering as the model for the community (3:10-12). Thus, the author *reemphasizes* his point in 2:21-25. Just as Christ returned no evil, neither should believers (3:9; cf. 2:23).²⁵¹ Just as Christ demonstrated restraint when reviled, so too must believers (3:9; cf. 2:23) for this is their calling (3:9; cf. 2:21). Like Christ, their speech is to be pure, without deceit (3:10; cf. 2:22), and their behavior "good" (3:17; cf. 2:15), so that charges by pagans are proven baseless (3:16; cf. 2:12). Believers are to have a teleological perspective of suffering, namely that all is

reader to a particular interpretation."

250. I agree with Metzger, *Textual*, 624 that παθόντος is original. A few manuscripts (σ. N*) substitute αποθανοντος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. Internally, πάσχω best fits with the overall theology of 1 Peter. Externally, Metzger notes the UBS Committee's decision of an {A} designation writing, "The reading that best explains the origin of the others is παθόντος which is strongly supported by P⁷² B C Ψ 330 1739 it⁶⁵ vg cop^{sa} al."

251. That 1 Pet 3:9 adopts early Christian paraenesis itself adopted from Hellenistic-Jewish tradition such as *Joseph and Asenath*, see Piper, "Hope," 220.

according to God's will (3:17; cf. 2:15). By recognizing that God is in control, believers may, like Christ, emulate his confident trust in God (2:23; cf. 4:19).

Based on this pattern, I argue that 3:18-22 provides a basis for the paraenesis preceding and following it; moreover, the ὅτι in 3:18 brings in view 2:21-25. The similarities between 3:18 with 2:21, 24 support this argument:

2:21-24	←	3:18
ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (2:21)		ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν. (3:18)
ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν (2:24)		
ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον (2:24)		θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ (3:18)

3:18 encapsulates the epistle's theological core, i.e. Christ is the Suffering Servant of Isa 53. All the major ideas in 2:21-24 recur in 3:18. This is an important point because scholars, in interpreting 4:1-2, rightly note the resumptive οὖν in 4:1a as pointing back to 3:18, but then fail to recognize that 3:18 (as well as its larger pericope) points back to 2:11-25, especially 2:21-24. Recognizing this pattern is crucial in interpreting 4:1-2.

The preceding discussion has set the stage to explicate 4:1. The questions I will answer are: (a) to whom does the author refer by “the one who suffers is done with sin,” and (b) what is the ἔννοια (“attitude”) which Christ exhibited that believers are to “arm themselves” with? As seen in the next chart, the author's pattern of referring back to 2:11-25 continues within 4:1-6:

2:11 - 25	←	4:1 - 6
Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν (2:21)		Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ (4:1a)
ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον (2:24)		
ὃς παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως (2:23)		ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας (4:1c)
ὅτι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι (2:24)		
ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν (2:11)		εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίας...βιῶσαι (4:2)
ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν (2:12)		ἐν ᾧ ξενίζονται . . . βλασφημοῦντες ²⁵² (4:4)
δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς (2:12)		τῷ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντι κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς (4:5)

252. In agreement with Windisch, *Katholische*, 75 that 4:4 reflects the thought in 2:12 that the recipients are being reviled for good conduct.

Whom 1 Peter refers to in the phrase “for whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin” (ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας, 4:1c) must be considered at this point. A clue is provided in the preceding exhortation to believers, “arm yourselves” (ὁπλίζω, 4:1b), and in the following clause related to believers (εἰς τὸ . . . βιώσαι, 4:2).²⁵³ The focus before and after the ὅτι clause centers on exhortations *to* believers regarding *their* behavior. Moreover, the evocative imperative ὁπλίζω utilizes the imagery of warfare, “arm yourselves,” thereby bringing to mind and connecting back to the author’s warning concerning “desires of the flesh” that “wage war” (στρατεύω) within them (2:11). Therefore, the ὅτι phrase in 4:1c most naturally applies to believers who are to equip themselves for battle with Christ’s attitude against a warring enemy.²⁵⁴

In addition, to interpret the antecedent of the ὅτι clause (4:1c) as Χριστός means to say that “Christ by his suffering conquered the power of sin, so the Christian may now similarly share in that victory.”²⁵⁵ But 4:1 indicates that whoever suffers “has ceased from sin.” As Blazen rightly points out, if Χριστός has ceased from sinning, then the awkward implication is that he must have at one time sinned.²⁵⁶ Since 1 Peter has clearly stated that Christ was sinless (2:22; cf. 1:19; 3:18), it must mean instead, if Χριστός is the referent, that Christ “has ceased” in some other respect.

For some scholars, such as Kelly, the enigmatic phrase in 4:1 correlates with Pauline baptismal theology in Rom 6:1-12.²⁵⁷ In this interpretation, “the one who suffers” is an implied reference to baptism into Christ’s death and thus, as a corollary, his defeat of the power of sin.²⁵⁸ Kelly argues that “has ceased” need not carry “active

253. Arguing result, see Bigg, *St Peter*, 167. While Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 280 n. 55 concludes purpose. Determination does not effect my argument.

254. Rightly, Jobes, *1 Peter*, 263–64.

255. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 278.

256. Rightly, Blazen, “Cessation,” 41 argues against interpreting “the ὅτι clause as explicative” because, quoting from Sieffert, “Heilsbedeutung,” 422, “πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας (‘has ceased from sin’) cannot be applied to Christ, because this expression presupposes not merely an earlier connection with sin but an earlier sinning itself.” See further Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 278.

257. Kelly, *Peter*, 168.

258. Explained by Kelly, *Peter*, 168. See also, Beare, *First Peter*, 178–79; Stibbs, *First*

personal participation in that with which one has finished.” But instead, “has ceased” means to say “that by His death Christ has been freed from the sinful powers under whose sway, by identifying Himself with sinful mankind, He had placed Himself.”²⁵⁹ For this to hold, the author must intend “suffering” to be understood as synonymous with “dying” (ἀποθνήσκω). But death is not in view in 4:1 as it clearly is elsewhere in the epistle (cf. 3:18). Moreover, Paul never refers to dying with Christ as “suffering” (πάσχω).²⁶⁰ For Pauline baptismal theology to be in view, the reader must interpret “has suffered” as referring to both Christ’s physical death *and* believers’ spiritual death to sin in baptism. But, as Goppelt rightly notes “in 1 Peter suffering unto death is never purely spiritual, but is always also bodily suffering.”²⁶¹ Further, as Achtemeier points out, something of a scholarly consensus has emerged against the earlier view of a baptismal homily *Sitz im Leben* for 1 Peter, and as a baptismal view has receded so too has a mystical union view.²⁶² Unlike Colossians, for example, which states explicitly that believers “were buried with him in baptism” (Col. 2:12), 1 Peter does not.

Another attempt, failed I think, at interpreting 4:1 along Pauline baptismal lines, is by referring to the singular baptismal reference in 3:21. For there, baptism is typological. The Noah story prefigures salvation in Christ. Believers’ baptism as union into Christ’s death and resurrection are not in view. Lastly, for Kelly *et al.* to be correct that Pauline baptismal theology is in view, παύω “stop, cease from” (4:1c) must be interpreted along the lines of δικαιόω “is freed from” (Rom 6:7).²⁶³ This means παύω must convey union with Christ through baptism into his death which results in believers being declared righteous (δικαιόω) by God and set free from the power of sin. The complex flow of thought, logic, and themes (death, baptism, union) in Romans 6 is not in view in 4:1. The author does not mention Christ’s death,

Peter, 146.

259. Kelly, *Peter*, 168.

260. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 279, fn. 49.

261. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 281.

262. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 61.

263. *BDAG*, entry 2005.

believers' death, baptism with Christ, union in his death, or union in his resurrection. Therefore, translating *παύω* along the lines of *δικαίόω* is unwarranted. Finding an opaque allusion to *union* with Christ in baptism in 4:1 requires not only significant hermeneutical gymnastics, but also an unwarranted reading of Pauline theology into 1 Peter.²⁶⁴ Thus, I agree with Achtemeier that "there is therefore little basis for understanding this verse in light of Pauline baptismal theology."²⁶⁵

Another exegetical task in 4:1 is to determine the meaning of *ἐννοια* (4:1b). In the first line, Christ's *παθόντος* includes his suffering and death.²⁶⁶ Yet, since the exhortation for believers "to arm themselves" could be construed as martyr theology, it must be said unequivocally that this is not in view.²⁶⁷ Nowhere else does the epistle signal that believers are to die a martyr's death; in fact, the epistle emphasizes hopeful, expectant waiting for Christ's return and God's judgement (1:5).²⁶⁸ Therefore, "the same attitude" (*τὴν αὐτὴν ἐννοιαν*) Christ "left as an example" (2:21) refers to something else.

Found only here and in Heb. 4:12, *ἐννοια* means "the content of mental processing, thought, knowledge, insight."²⁶⁹ Solutions, therefore, hinge on what scholars posit to be the "content" of Christ's *ἐννοια*. What precisely did Christ have "in mind"? What was the basis for his decision to submit to unjust suffering? As I demonstrated above, 1 Peter has consistently referred back to 2:11-25, especially 2:21-24. Further, I have shown that the author continues this pattern within 4:1-6. Looking closely, a striking parallel is discovered:

ὅς *παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως* (2:23) ← *ὁμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐννοιαν* ὀπλίσασθε (4:1b)

264. In admission of the tenuous link with Romans 6, Kelly, *Peter*, 168 notes the argument "presents one or two awkward features, such as . . . the bold expression *suffered in the flesh* for the mystical death of baptism."

265. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 280.

266. Correctly, Dryden, *Paraenetic*, 181.

267. See Bigg, *St Peter*, 167; Beare, *First Peter*, 179; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 225; Dryden, *Paraenetic*, 182.

268. Cf. 1:7,13; 2:12,23, 4:5,7,13,17; 5:1,4,6,10.

269. *BDAG*, entry 2665.

In 2:23, the author explains that Christ “entrusted himself to the one who judges justly.” Rarely is 2:23 linked with 4:1 to view Christ’s *trust* in God as the content of the ἔννοια.²⁷⁰ Elliott comes the closest to connecting Christ’s trust in God with the ἔννοια believers are to adopt. He writes that since 4:1a speaks:

not of an ‘understanding’ of Christ but of his ‘act’ of having suffered, ‘same understanding’ must refer to the attitude of mind and commitment that the author believed prompted Christ to endure suffering. From what the author has already stated, this mind-set could have involved Christ’s subordination to the divine will during his innocent suffering (1:2c; 2:21-23 [as God’s servant]; 3:17-18), his resistance to wrongdoing and retaliation (2:22-23b), and his trusting commitment of his cause to God (2:23c) [underlining mine]. These features of Christ’s attitude and behavior have already been held up as paradigmatic for the believers and therefore may be implied here as well.²⁷¹

In 4:1, the author is exhorting believers to entrust themselves to God during suffering, an ἔννοια demonstrated by Christ. Why? The next verse provides the answer. In 4:2, the author utilizes the εἰς τὸ plus infinitive construction (εἰς τὸ . . . βιῶσαι) to say, in effect, entrusting oneself to God results in living for the will of God. By giving up the desire to retaliate, and instead placing retribution in the hands of “the one who judges rightly” (2:23; cf. 4:19), believers submit to God’s will. Believers are, thereby, no longer living for the “desires of humankind” (4:2). Believers are enabled to live in manner astonishing to pagans (4:4). Entrusting oneself to God, the ἔννοια of Christ, proves decisive in the battle against the “desires of flesh.”

270. E.g., ἔννοια refers to: “that of suffering with patience,” says Bigg, *St Peter*, 167; “the dying life voluntarily accepted and put on as armour, and finding expression in the meek and courageous pursuit of the spiritual life,” says Selwyn, *First Peter*, 208; “a mental concept of himself as ‘crucified with Christ’--as having made an end, in imagination and thought, of the life of the flesh, and having begun to value the life of the spirit, the new life which is lived in and with Christ, as the only true life (cf. Gal. 2:20),” concludes Beare, *First Peter*, 179; “*unio mystica* or mystical union, a sense of dying with Christ to sin and of rising in Him to a new life which is to be lived for God,” asserts Stibbs, *First Peter*, 148; “the same attitude of mind or guiding conviction as Christ had (cf. Phil 2:5), viz. that death ‘in the flesh’ issues in life ‘in the spirit’ and the resulting overthrow of the sinful powers,” writes Kelly, *Peter*, 166; “does not mean here ‘disposition,’ but, as in the wisdom speeches in Proverbs, ‘understanding’ that produces conduct in accord with that understanding,” argues Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 278–79; “is clearly related to Paul’s frequent image of putting on spiritual armor or using spiritual weapons,” asserts Davids, *1 Peter*, 148; “the same resolve as Christ . . . those who suffer unjustly because of their faith in Christ have demonstrated that they are willing to be through, or done, with sin by choosing obedience, even if it means suffering,” writes Jobes, *1 Peter*, 265.

271. See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 713.

The author's thought in 4:19 supports this conclusion. The pericope which this verse concludes (4:12-19) explains to the recipients that their suffering is a necessary test according to God's will; therefore, they are not to be surprised by the "trials" (πειρασμός, 4:12; cf. 1:6). In 4:19, the author exhorts believers to "entrust" (παρατίθημι) their "souls" to a "faithful creator" (πιστῷ κτίστη) by "doing good" (ἀγαθοποιῶν). There are three parallels between 4:19 and 2:21,23 that support my reading of 4:1.

2:21, 23

... ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν (2:21)

ὃς παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως (2:23)



4:19

ὥστε καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες
κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ
πιστῷ κτίστη παρατιθέσθωσαν (4:19)



4:1

ὕμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐννοιαν ὀπλίσασθε,
ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπνυται ἀμαρτίας (4:1b)

Firstly, in 2:21,23, Christ is the one who "suffers." In 4:19, it is believers who "suffer." Both verses use the same verb (πάσχω). Secondly and thirdly, in 2:23, Christ "entrusted himself" in the midst of suffering to "the one who judges rightly" (τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως), a circumlocution for God. In 4:19, believers are exhorted to "entrust" (παρατίθημι) themselves "to a faithful Creator" (πιστῷ κτίστη), another circumlocution for God. Thus, the author has provided three links between his exhortation in 4:19 and the model of Christ. The Son's exemplary suffering is driven by his trust in the one believers also call "Father" (πατήρ, 1:17; cf. 1:3). Christ's trust in God is to be the armor for believers.²⁷² With this clarity, I return to the ambiguity of 4:1.

Like 4:19, 4:1 is alluding back to 2:23 in the theological "heart" of the epistle (2:21-25). In the same way that "those who suffer" (οἱ πάσχοντες, 4:19) refers to

272. Rightly, Dubis, *Messianic*, 178–82 connects 4:19 with 2:23c to highlight Jesus' attitude of humble trust in God as the paradigm for believers in the midst of their own suffering.

“believers,” “the one who suffers” (ὁ παθών, 4:1) refers to a believer as well. As in 4:19, where the author *explicitly* exhorts believers to adopt the same ἔννοια which Christ himself exemplified (2:23), the author, in 4:1, exhorts believers to adopt the same ἔννοια (4:1b).

The striking, and additional, element in 4:1, is the connection drawn between suffering and cessation from sinning. In 1 Peter’s theology, adopting the ἔννοια of Christ means entrusting oneself to God and enduring suffering instead of retaliating. As a result, “the one who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin.” Thus, suffering proves crucial in the war against “desires of the flesh.” Suffering provides an opportunity to allow God’s will to rule one’s life. As believers adopt Christ’s ἔννοια (4:1, 19; cf. 2:23), they are choosing God’s will over their own desires. In the crucible of suffering, believers must choose whether they do in fact trust in God as Creator (4:19), Redeemer (1:18), and Righteous Judge (1:17; 2:23; 4:5; 16-19). If so, then they will let go of their desire for recompense, retaliation, and vengeance. If not, then they will give in to the “fleshy desires” of anger, fear, and self-preservation. By adopting the ἔννοια of Christ, two things happen. Firstly, God’s will and power guides their lives (4:2, cf. 2:11). By God’s will and under “God’s mighty hand” (5:6), believers then live not for “earthly desires but for the will of God” (4:2). Secondly, “undeserved” suffering from persecution causes a suffering in the “flesh.” Since “desires” reside in the “flesh,” this suffering, somehow, battles against the “desires” and conquers them. Herein lies the way in which 1 Peter envisions suffering as a means to cease from sinning. Suffering, instead of embittering believers, will, if the believer humbly entrusts himself to God, provide the opportunity to exercise faith which is refined by testing (1:6-7). Suffering trials, then, test/refine faith (1:6-7) and enable living rightly (4:1).

3.5.3 Conclusion

Briefly, I will summarize the answers to the four inter-related questions raised at the

beginning of the chapter. I will be concise here and save further comments in the concluding chapter where I compare Colossians and 1 Peter.

Firstly, the author views the σάρξ (“flesh”) of the elect as created, material existence. The author does not view the σάρξ as a “power.” Therefore, it is unchanged in the new existence. “Evil desires” (ἐπιθυμίας) are inherent within created, material existence. That is to say, ἐπιθυμίας reside within the σάρξ. Like the σάρξ, ἐπιθυμίας are unchanged in the new existence and no less potent.

Secondly, the author emphasizes a coming, future salvation. Along the *temporal* axis, salvation is primarily future, a glorious inheritance yet to be received. Judgment, while also future, is imminent. The “end of the ages” is near. The recipients are living within the dénouement of history. In this, the epistle expresses an intensely heightened expectation of an imminent *parousia*.

Thirdly, the *spatial* imagery of the new existence is decidedly “earthy.” The elect are not described as raised to heaven or seated in heaven. Instead, and due to God’s unmerited mercy, believers are members in God’s eschatological temple-community. Believers are God’s people on “earth” awaiting Christ to come to them from heaven. Thus, language of Christ indwelling the elect is absent. While the Spirit rests upon the community, the author only hints at the Spirit at work within or indwelling individual believers.

Lastly, mapping the author’s worldview, including five functions of suffering as God’s eschatological people, paved the way to recognize a sixth function of suffering. The author explains that suffering provides the opportunity to trust in God which becomes an instrument to defeat ἐπιθυμίας. Thus, suffering enables the elect to cease from sinning and live rightly until Christ’s return.

CHAPTER 4

THE *HODAYOT* AND PATTERNS OF THOUGHT IN 1 PETER

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will argue that the *Hodayot*, a text from Second Temple Judaism, represents a pattern of thought remarkably similar to that identified in 1 Peter. Examination of its worldview and theology provides an opportunity to explore how a segment of Judaism understood God, humankind, and the role of suffering in God's economy. A close reading of the *Hodayot* will aid in interpreting 1 Peter.

The chapter will proceed as follows. In section 4.1, I will survey the HB and Second Temple texts for antecedents to 1 Peter's suffering theology, namely that unjust suffering by the elect may become, in God's economy, an instrument that "enables" the elect to conquer their sinful "flesh" and live rightly. I will look for antecedents to 1 Peter's understanding of suffering as: (1) originating in God's sovereign will; (2) arising from external persecution; (3) being "undeserved" (i.e., suffering is not caused by the sins of the elect); and (4) resulting in the elect gaining the ability to conquer interior, evil inclinations. I will argue that the first three aspects are found in the HB and ETL, but the search for the fourth element must continue. This will lead into my discussion of the *Hodayot*.

In section 4.2, I will begin highlighting parallels between the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter starting with their hermeneutical use of the HB including an affinity for the book of Isaiah. In section 4.3, I will detail patterns of thought in the *Hodayot* which provide a background to ideas in 1 Peter, i.e. a negative view of the "flesh" despite God's merciful and unmerited redemption, an identity as God's elect temple-community undergoing persecution, and an emphasis on imminent judgment when future salvation will be realized. These parallels demonstrate that the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter were in

contact with similar streams of thought within Judaism. This recognition of the texts' "familial relationship"¹ invites closer reading of the *Hodayot*'s view of suffering.

In section 4.4, I will analyze the references to and function of suffering as an enabler to live rightly within three psalms of the *Hodayot*. The analysis will demonstrate that the *Hodayot* views suffering of the elect as: (1) arising from God's sovereign hand, not as a result of punishment for sin or disobedience, (2) caused by persecution from the wicked, (3) an instrument which conquers evil spirits (inclinations) within the elect, and (4) an "enabler" for the elect to live rightly. This conclusion provides an antecedent for 1 Peter's view that "whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin" (4:1b). To my knowledge, no scholar has argued that the *Hodayot*'s view of suffering serves as an antecedent to and throws light on 1 Pet 4:1.

4.1 Developments in Views On Suffering

Suffering by God's people received considerable attention by the writers of the HB, Second Temple texts, and the NT, and the *Leitmotif* of suffering as a furnace for purification runs throughout each. These texts represent diverse attempts to understand the cause(s), purpose(s), and result(s) of suffering presenting views which, J. Beker points out, "do not simply signify evolutionary stages of reflection . . . [but rather these stages] . . . are often juxtaposed and intertwined as permanently valid options."² Over time, new voices, such as Isaiah and Job, enter to contribute new perspectives on the purpose of suffering by God's people.

A watershed point occurs in Isaiah. Previously, in the Deuteronomic theology (Deut 28), blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience, reigned. This "dogma

1. By "familial" I mean a group of texts with similarities in worldview and exegetical methods thus representing a segment within Judaism that reflected similarly on the HB, God, anthropology, suffering, and the telos of the cosmos. This is not to say that the texts come from the same *group*, nor is this to say that the texts *agree* on every topic.

2. Beker, *Suffering*, 31.

of retributive justice” interprets suffering as “deserved.”³ In many respects, Isaiah reflects a Deuteronomistic theology in that it proclaims Israel’s “deserved” punishment for her sins.⁴ However, Isaiah also reflects one of the earliest developments in the response to suffering in the HB, namely that suffering can have a positive result if it leads to a witness about God (e.g. Isa 43ff.). This development points towards the views represented by Job, Daniel, Wisdom, Sirach, and 1 Peter. In these texts, suffering is often interpreted as “undeserved,” a mystery, a test of the genuineness of faith, and an aspect of God’s eschatological people. Yet, these reflections on suffering are often accompanied by “hope,” an expectant waiting by the elect for vindication by God who will break into history and triumph over evil in both its cosmic and earthly manifestations.⁵

Surveying usage of the term “furnace” as a metaphor for suffering trials demonstrates how this *Leitmotif* changes as the context of suffering changes. It also provides a foundation for recognizing developments in the theology of suffering as represented by the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter, namely that suffering by the elect: (1) arises from God’s sovereignty, not as a result of punishment for sins, (2) stems from persecution by the ungodly, (3) is an instrument which conquers interior evil, and (4) “enables” the elect to live rightly.

In the HB and EJJ, tests and refinement in suffering are metaphorically described as a fiery furnace and as gold in a furnace. In the HB, the metallurgical metaphor primarily refers to God’s refining of idolatrous Israel,⁶ that is, God subjecting Israel to suffering as punishment for her sins (e.g. Isa 48:1, 4, 8). This is exemplified in Isaiah 48:10, “See, I have refined you, but not like silver; I have tested you in the furnace of adversity.” Suffering is like a “furnace” (MT כּוּר; LXX κάμινος)

3. Beker, *Suffering*, 31.

4. Ibid., 33.

5. Noted by Beker, *Suffering*, 41.

6. That the metaphor of gold is “nothing other than a stock-expression, as shown by the OT evidence alone” (e.g., Prov 17:3; 27:21, Zech 13:9; Mal 3:2b-3, and Sir 2:5), see Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 41.

that purifies Israel from sins and leads to repentance, restoration, and worship of the one true God (Isa 48:20).⁷ In Malachi, prophecy of a refinement is a warning to Israel for violation of the covenantal relationship:

But who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears? For he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap; ³ *he will sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he will purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver*, [italics mine] . . . (Mal 3:2-3a)

The smelting image represents God's eschatological judgment and purification of Israel. However, neither suffering persecution by pagans nor a battle against interior evil is in view. In Zechariah 13:9, the furnace metaphor indicates refinement and testing by God of a remnant of Israel. While the images bring to mind 1 Pet 1:6; 4:12, suffering functions differently here than in 1 Peter. Suffering purifies from sins, not from interior evil; moreover, the context of suffering is eschatological judgment, not unjust persecution. These examples from the HB provide a baseline to illustrate developments in views of suffering during the Second Temple period.⁸

Before moving outside the HB, I note Prov 17:3, which like Isa 48:10, depicts God as the author of fiery "tests." It states, "The crucible (MT, מִצְרֵף; LXX κάμινος) is for silver, and the furnace (MT, כּוּר; LXX κάμινος) is for gold, but the LORD tests (MT, בִּחֵן; LXX δοκιμάζω) the heart (MT, לֵב; LXX καρδία)." As in the texts above, the metaphor functions differently than in 1 Peter, namely suffering is not caused by persecution and is not related to ameliorating interior evil.⁹ However, the verse is illuminating because the LXX translators employed the same term (κάμινος) for two separate, but related Hebrew terms, "crucible" (מִצְרֵף) and "furnace" (כּוּר). From this, it is reasonable to assume that when "crucible" and "furnace" occur in EJJ, such as the

7. Cf. Isa 1:25.

8. Usage of term "furnace" (MT כּוּר; LXX κάμινος) in HB to describe suffering metaphorically is rare. See Deut 4:20; 1 Kgs 8:51; Prov 17:3; 27:21; Isa 48:10; Jer 11:4; Ezek 22:18; 22:20; 22:22.

9. "Heart" as used within the HB is best understood as the overall constitution of a person in his orientation; therefore, Proverbs' use of "heart" is not a war between the "soul" and "desires of the flesh" as in 1 Pet 2:11. For a concise summary of anthropological terms in the HB, see Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 263. See also, Childs, *Biblical*, 566, 571–72.

DSS, the terms convey roughly equivalent concepts. This is especially the case when מַצָּרָה and כּוֹר occur together in contexts related to suffering.¹⁰

Turning to Second Temple texts, it is important to keep in view the social context in which these texts were written. During the Second Temple period, foreign occupation and the threat of Hellenization present new challenges.¹¹ Possibly as a response, texts in EJL reflect upon suffering differently than the HB. For example, Elliott, drawing upon Nauck's critique of Selwyn's earlier theory¹² that the positive views on suffering in 1 Peter arise from a "persecution form" traceable to the teachings of Jesus,¹³ argues instead that they stem from "Israelite apocalyptic teaching."¹⁴ In any case, and over time, the metaphor comes to represent "undeserved" suffering by God's righteous elect at the hands of the ungodly. This positive usage of the smelting metaphor is seen in 1 Peter (1:6; cf. 4:12) where it represents a "test."

Sirach, written during the turbulent Second Temple period, illustrates these developments and provides a wealth of parallels with 1 Peter 1:6-7. Sirach states,

My child, when you come to serve the Lord, prepare yourself for testing (πειρασμός). Set your heart right and be steadfast, and do not be impetuous in time of calamity. Cling to him and do not depart, so that your last days may be prosperous. Accept whatever befalls you, and in times of humiliation (ταπείνωσις) be patient (μακροθυμέω). For gold (χρυσός) is tested (δοκιμάζω) in the fire (πῦρ), and those found acceptable, in the furnace (κάμινος) of humiliation (ταπείνωσις). Trust (πιστεύω) in him, and he will help you; make your ways straight, and hope (ἐλπίζω) in him. You who fear the Lord, wait for his mercy (ἔλεος); do not stray, or else you may fall. You who fear the Lord, trust (πιστεύω) in him, and your reward will not be lost. You who fear the Lord, hope (ἐλπίζω) for good things, for lasting joy and mercy. (Sir 2:1-9)

Here, 1 Peter contains a striking number of parallels. Firstly, the πειρασμός is at the hands of external oppressors (cf. 1 Pet 1:6; 4:12). Secondly, like Sir 2:5, 1 Peter indicates that the blasphemy by outsiders (4:4) is a "fiery trial" (πύρωσις) to "test"

10. Recognition of this fact aids, I argue, in interpreting 1QH^a IV 21-37.

11. Hengel, *Judaism*, 107–254.

12. Selwyn, *First Peter*, 23–24, 439–66.

13. Nauck, "Freude," 73 writes, "Die Grenze der Untersuchungen Selwyns zur urchristlichen katechetischen Tradition liegt darin, daß die religionsgeschichtliche Perspektive unberücksichtigt bleibt." Nauck widens the search for the background of the theme "Freude angesichts der Verfolgung," for example, to include 2 Baruch.

14. Listing as evidence: Jdt 8:25-27; Wis 3:4-6; 2 Macc 6:28, 30; 4 Macc 7:22; 9:29; 11:12, see Elliott, *1 Peter*, 36. See also, Karl G. Kuhn, "Peirasmos," 200–222.

(πειρασμός) them (4:12). Thirdly, the metaphor to “set your heart right” (εὔθυνον τὴν καρδίαν σου, Sir 2:2) parallels 1 Peter’s metaphor to “prepare your minds for action” (ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν, 1 Pet 1:3). Fourthly, the call in Sir 2:4 to accept one’s lot in life and “be patient” is certainly harmonious with the paradigmatic response of Christ who embodied patience in suffering (1 Pet 2:23). Fifthly, both texts exhort the elect to “trust” (πιστεύω) in God through the trial (2:6, 8). Entrusting oneself to God, as I argued in chapter three, is the *ἔννοια* that 1 Peter identifies within Christ’s response (1 Pet 2:23) that believers are to adopt (1 Pet 4:1; 19).

The use of “furnace” (κάμινος, Sir 2:5) demonstrates a development in the response to suffering as the word and its Hebrew equivalents, namely (מִצֶּרֶת) and (כּוּר), have undergone seismic alterations in their meaning. No longer representing punishment, Ben Sira turns it into a *positive* image. The “furnace” is caused by external persecution not sins, and it becomes an opportunity to “trust” in God for a reward. However, despite the many parallels with 1 Peter, Sirach does not connect the suffering “test” or “furnace” with subjugation of interior evil in the elect.

Wisdom of Solomon represents a stream of apocalyptic thought arising out of the Maccabean crisis and heightens the “undeserved” aspect of suffering by sharpening the contrast between the righteous and ungodly (Wis 2:12-20; 3:1-6).¹⁵ Possibly reflecting a line of development from the HB through Sirach,¹⁶ Wisdom seeks to clarify “the position of Judaism vis à vis paganism in the Hellenistic milieu.”¹⁷ In 2:12-20, Wisdom quotes the thoughts of the ungodly as they plot against the righteous. Rejecting God (2:2-3), the ungodly seek to fulfill their sensuous desires through oppression of the righteous, the widowed, and the elderly (2:6-11). The teaching and

15. Positing the origin of the form, “joy in suffering,” to the Maccabean crisis, see Nauck, “Freude,” 79. See Neugebauer, “Deutung,” 75 that the theme develops further with the martyrdom of Ignatius who sought out suffering.

16. Mack and Murphy, “Wisdom,” 384.

17. Mack and Murphy, “Wisdom,” 381.

reproof by the “righteous” man (δίκαιος, 2:12) sings their conscience, and his “manner of life” (ὁ βίος, 2:15) is unbearable. Therefore, the ungodly plot to:

. . . test (πειράζω) what will happen at the end of his life; for if the righteous man is God's child, he will help him, and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries. Let us test (δοκιμάζω) him with insult and torture (Wis 2:17b-19a)

In this, Wisdom presents an *ethical* dualism that resonates deeply with 1 Peter where the ungodly, surprised that believers no longer live in “licentiousness, passions, drunkenness, revels, carousing, and lawless idolatry,” “blaspheme” (βλασφημέω, 1 Pet 4:4) and “slander” (καταλαλέω) believers for their “good conduct in Christ” (1 Pet 3:16).

Wisdom addresses the “righteous” explaining that the “test,” metaphorically described as a “fire” and “furnace,” is designed by God to demonstrate the true nature of the “righteous” in the midst of adversity:

But the souls of the righteous (δίκαιος) are in the hand of God, . . . For though in the sight of others they were punished, their hope (ἐλπίς) is full of immortality (ἀθανασία). Having been disciplined a little, they will receive great good, because God tested (πειράζω) them and found them worthy of himself; like gold (χρυσός) in the furnace (χωνευτήριο) he tried (δοκιμάζω) them, and like a sacrificial burnt offering he accepted them. (Wisdom 3:1a, 4-6)

As in Sirach, the metallurgy metaphor reflects a development in that the “furnace” is not a result of sins, but instead, is “undeserved” and utilized by God to demonstrate genuine faith. Multiple concepts in this passage correspond with many ideas related to suffering in 1 Peter.

Firstly, the idea of a “hope” (ἐλπίς) which is “immortal” (ἀθανασία) is similar to the “hope” (ἐλπίς, 1:3) in 1 Peter which is described as an “inheritance” that is “imperishable” (ἄφθαρτος, 1:4). Secondly, in both texts God “tested” (πειράζω) and tried (δοκιμάζω) the righteous: compare believers’ faith as “tested” (δοκιμάζω, 1 Pet. 1:7) and believers undergoing “fiery ordeals” as a “test” (πειρασμός, 4:12).¹⁸ Thirdly, in both texts, God is ultimately the agent responsible for the tests. Fourthly, hope (or faith) is likened to “gold” (χρυσός) which is metaphorically tried in a “furnace”

18. Correctly, Nauck, “Freude,” 78 n. 62 links 1 Pet 4:12 to 1:6-7 as conveying the metallurgy imagery of faith being proven genuine through testing.

(χωνευτήριο, Wis. 3:6;¹⁹ cf. “tested by fire” ἀπολλυμένου διὰ πυρός, 1 Pet. 1:7; “fiery ordeal” πύρωσις, 4:12). Lastly, as I noted, both authors consider their recipients “righteous” (δίκαιος, Wis. 3:1; cf. 1 Pet. 3:12; 4:18), a designation in sharp contrast to the rest of humanity labeled as the “ungodly” (ἀσεβής, Wis. 3:10, cf. 1 Pet. 4:18) and “foolish” (ἄφρων, Wis 3:2; cf. 1 Pet. 2:15). Therefore, Wisdom appears as a crucial backdrop for 1 Peter’s suffering theology.

Like Sirach, Wisdom grew out of the turbulent Second Temple period and reflects both sapiential and apocalyptic thought. 1 Peter, then, is heavily indebted to sapiential and apocalyptic streams in EJL. Despite all the points of correspondence with these texts, though, none view suffering from “tests” in the “furnace” of persecution as resulting in the elect gaining the ability to conquer interior evil and thereby live rightly.²⁰ 1 Peter presents a view of suffering extending beyond those identified in the HB and Second Temple texts. The epistle of 1 Peter shares many points of contact with developing views as expressed in Isaiah, Job, and especially Jewish apocalyptic literature (Sirach and Wisdom in particular) that suffering can ultimately be positive, serve as a witness, provide an opportunity to trust in God, and as in the book of Judith, be a cause for joy.²¹ However, despite the many correlations identified above, none provide an antecedent to 1 Peter 4:1. Yet, parallels with other Second Temple sapiential and apocalyptic literature indicate the potential fruitfulness in expanding the inquiry within EJL.

19. Literally, a “smelting furnace,” the noun form is derived from χωνευτός “pert. to receiving shape or form through pouring of metal into a mold, *cast, poured*”, cf. Deut. 27:15. See *BDAG*, entry 8006.

20. *Contra* Omanson, “Suffering,” 445 that 2 Macc 6:12-16 and 2 Bar. 13:10; 78:6 provide the background to the idea in 1 Pet 4:1 that “the one who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin.” Firstly, 2 Macc refers to “punishments” (τιμωρία) by God to discipline the people. Secondly, 2 Bar. is a text written after 1 Peter.

21. Judith refers to Abraham’s testing (Gen 22:1) as the paradigmatic example by which the nation is to understand their current crisis. Just as God was “testing” Abraham, so too God πειράζει them (Jdt. 8:25-26). The appropriate response, says Judith, is thankfulness. See Nauck, “Freude,” 77 who points to Jdt 8:25-26 as an example of “joy in suffering,” found in 1 Peter.

4.2 Hermeneutical Use of the HB in the *Hodayot*

Known variously as 1QH^a and the *Thanksgiving Hymns*,²² the *Hodayot* represents a pattern of thought in Second Temple Judaism that provides an intriguing backdrop to the theology of suffering in 1 Peter.²³ In this section, I will discuss the *Hodayot*'s similar hermeneutical use of the HB including its affinity for the book of Isaiah.

The writer(s) of the *Hodayot* draws deeply from the HB through quotation, allusion, and paraphrasing to construct meaning.²⁴ Holm-Nielsen cites voluminous examples of use of the HB leading him to conclude the *Hodayot* represents “a greater use, it would seem to me, than that made by the majority of the other writings from Qumran.”²⁵ While Kittel argues that earlier claims of biblical quotes and allusions are

22. For the first English edition, see Sukenik, *Scrolls*. On independent reconstructions by Stegemann and Puech, see discussion in *DJD* 40, 2–3. To reconcile numbering systems by Sukenik and Stegemann, see Fitzmyer, *Guide*, 17. In this study, references are according to the recently published critical edition. Henceforth *DJD* 40. For a concise introduction to the *Hodayot* see *DJD* 40, 1–11. For the history, methods, and issues in reconstruction, see *DJD* 40, 13–53. See too Hughes, *Allusions*, 1–9. On genre and *Sitz im Leben*, see recent summary by Hughes, *Allusions*, 12–15 who concludes that “the overwhelming impression given by most scholars regarding the *Sitz im Leben* was one of confusion and inconsistency.”

23. For a summary of the archaeological, paleographical, and carbon 14 dating, see Kittel, *Hymns*, 21–22 who concludes that original composition occurred in the middle of the first century BCE. Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 28 argues that the handwriting of the discovered manuscripts is from Herodian times, and Lange, *Weisheit*, 196 notes that three writers worked on the available manuscripts. Based on coin inscriptions, Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 8 places the discovered manuscripts between 40 BCE and 70 CE.

24. Scholarship often divides the text into the Teacher Hymns and the Community Hymns. But, scholarly disagreement leads Hughes, *Allusions*, 15 to conclude, “I remain agnostic about the possibility and value of investigating the author(s) of the *Hodayot*.” See also, Philip R. Davies, *Behind*, 88 as cited in Hughes, *Allusions*, 15 n. 45. Recently, Newsom, *Self*, 287–300 concludes that it is not possible to know whether these psalms refer primarily to the Teacher of Righteousness. Instead, Newsom, *Self*, 196 argues that the psalms present a “leadership myth” and states that for her purposes, “it really does not matter who wrote the *Hodayot*.” That the psalms should be understood as a “model of sectarian identity,” see Newsom, “Apocalyptic,” 8–9. In support, see Hughes, *Allusions*, 16. Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 30–31 (cf. G. Jeremias, J. Becker, and H.-W. Kuhn) argues that division of psalms into “Teacher-songs” and “Community-songs” is possible, yet he provides the caveat that he does *not* divide the psalms before beginning his study on anthropology in the DSS so as to not “predetermine” (*präjudizieren*) results; furthermore, he argues that such specialist determinations fall outside his study. Recently, Brooke, “Structure,” 22 pointed to a mixture of distinctive “Teacher” and “Community” elements within the *same psalm* (XII 6–XIII 6). This, he argues, provides “firm evidence that the so-called ‘Teacher Hymns’ cannot be distinguished clearly from the so-called ‘Community Hymns.’” Division of psalms falls outside this study.

25. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 301.

“not as all pervasive in the *Hodayot* as some have maintained,” she qualifies this adding “there are nevertheless numerous examples.”²⁶ Recently, Newsom’s extensive research on the *Hodayot* leads her to affirm that, “the variety of ways in which scripture is quoted, interpreted, invoked, echoed, and imitated is so great that it still exceeds every attempt to organize and classify it.”²⁷ Hughes’ examination of five reconstructed psalms supports Newsom’s conclusion demonstrating the *Hodayot*’s extensive use of the HB through quotes and allusions.²⁸ Scholarship has overwhelmingly supported Holm-Nielsen’s earlier conclusions that the *Hodayot*’s appropriation of the HB finds a unique place among the scrolls.²⁹

As I discussed in chapter three, 1 Peter weaves together verses from the HB more than any other NT text. Schutter, in his analysis of 1 Peter writes, “It is clear the letter fairly teems with HB references, approximately forty-six quotations and allusions in all, not counting iterative allusions that would greatly boost the total, or nearly one for every two verses.”³⁰ While noting that the HB references in 1 Peter are broadly represented in books from the three divisions of the Hebrew scriptures, Schutter helpfully points to the high concentration of quotes and allusions from Isaiah (twenty-one), the Psalms (eleven), and Proverbs (six).

1 Peter’s hermeneutics also correspond to the *Hodayot*’s affinity for Isaiah and the Psalms. That Isaiah would figure so prominently is a remarkable statistic considering the *Hodayot*’s extensive reliance upon a wide range of scriptural texts. Commenting on this, Holm-Nielsen writes:

Beyond the Psalms, the use of Scripture in the *Hodayot* is predominantly drawn from the prophetic writings, and here primarily from Isaiah; it is difficult to avoid the impression that this book was a particular favorite of the community. It would appear from the way in which it is used that the community considered this Old Testament prophecy as a prediction of that which had now

26. Kittel, *Hymns*, 162.

27. Newsom, *Self*, 213.

28. That an “allusion” is “a reference which is recognized by a reader as referring to a textual source, knowledge of which contributes to the meaning for the reader” see Hughes, *Allusions*, 52–53.

29. That the *Hodayot* is “so permeated with scriptural language that quotation, allusion, and paraphrase are often impossible to disentangle,” see Philip R. Davies, “Qumran,” 104.

30. Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 43.

occurred in the fullness of time in the emergence of the community. And it is worth noting in this respect that large place that Isa 40-55 occupies.³¹

Holm-Nielsen's analysis indicates two salient points. Firstly, Isaiah 40-55 not only figures prominently in the text, but also becomes the template upon which the *Hodayot* describes God's activity in history, especially in regards to the community's circumstances. Secondly, the *Hodayot* interprets its community through the lens of Isaiah's prophecies.

Despite Holm-Nielsen's recognition that the *Hodayot* applies the HB, and especially Isaiah, to its community, he argues that it is not a *midrash* nor a *peshet* but a thanksgiving/lament.³² While Holm-Nielsen is correct that the *Hodayot* expresses lament, Newsom rightly points out that the *Hodayot* is primarily thanksgiving within which lament may be found.³³ She also recognizes that the *Hodayot* does represent, at the very least, "*peshet*-like" exegesis, pointing out that the phrase "and I know..." is a "freighted" expression in which the speaker indicates revelatory knowledge.³⁴ In VII 25-26, for example, the speaker echoes the prophet Jeremiah; the expression "and I know . . ." functions as inspired interpretation of biblical prophecy corresponding to other *pesharim* at Qumran.³⁵ Hughes, likewise, convincingly demonstrates the *peshet*-like qualities of the *Hodayot* through analysis of XVI 5 - XVII 36 in which she argues that the author(s) understood himself in light of Isaiah 40-66, including "the servant" passages.³⁶ Isaiah, Hughes concludes, is the "main influence upon this poem,"³⁷ and she points out that stanza II "takes up the motif of the suffering servant."³⁸ In XII 6-

31. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 310.

32. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 305 differentiates between "historical" and "theological" content. Arguing the key is the purpose of the writing, he views more "technical" commentaries such as 1QpHab as more conditioned by a concrete historical situation whereas the *Hodayot* drew from the HB to articulate the author's intention. Yet, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 306 n. 18 admits one must be "wary of making too much of such a distinction."

33. Rightly, Newsom, *Self*, 206-7 notes that based on the variously described divine gift, the psalms "orient the reader to thanksgiving as the paradigmatic mode of experience." The lament motifs are "contained within the frame of thanksgiving."

34. Newsom, *Self*, 212.

35. Cf. 1QpHab 7:1-5, cited in Newsom, *Self*, 213.

36. Hughes, *Allusions*, 183.

37. Hughes, *Allusions*, 147-48.

38. Hughes, *Allusions*, 167.

XIII 6, Brooke, like Hughes finds a “hint” of Isa 53:3, that is to say the author thinks “of himself in terms of the Isaianic servant.”³⁹ This “*peshet*-like” hermeneutic, especially with respect to use of Isaiah, provides a parallel to 1 Peter.⁴⁰

The *Hodayot* draws upon Isaiah to depict its community as God’s exiled people awaiting restoration.⁴¹ Hughes suggests that the three stages in XVI 5 - XVII 36 are to be understood as the stages destined for the community, summarized in terms of preparation, testing, and vindication like redeemed Israel in Isaiah.⁴² Hughes explains the eschatological hope of the community:

They saw themselves as that part of the exiled people of God who would be restored. They interpreted the wilderness passages in Isaiah as referring to their community . . . However the new age would not come without suffering. The community saw their own sufferings as part of the cosmic battle between good and evil. They expected that in the last days things would get worse before they got better . . . the sufferings of the righteous would result in vindication.⁴³

The author of 1 Peter, similarly, views himself and his community as “exiles,”⁴⁴ and he extensively quotes and alludes to Isaiah (esp. 40-55) to describe believers not only as in exile but also as in the process of restoration.⁴⁵ As I discussed in chapter three, 1 Peter’s exegetical “inspirational” brush strokes, dipped as they were in the ink well of Isaiah, result in the epistle being pervaded by the motif of suffering/glory.⁴⁶ Further, the background for this parallel is the author’s appropriation and adaptation of Isaiah

39. Brooke, “Structure,” 26, 28.

40. The “hermeneutical affinities” between those at Qumran and 1 Peter leads Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 111 to write, “the points of contact between them is little less than breath-taking.”

41. Hughes, *Allusions*, 168.

42. Hughes, *Allusions*, 183.

43. *Ibid.*, 168.

44. Rightly, Mbuvi, *Temple*, 28–37 draws attention to the prominence of the book of Isaiah in 1 Peter’s development of the “idea of exile” and the hope of restoration.

45. See Dubis, *Messianic*, 48–53 who draws attention to Isaianic references in 1 Peter which develop this theme; cf. “1 Pet 1:18 alludes to Isa 52:3; 1 Pet 1:24–25 cites Isa 40:6–9; 1 Pet 2:9 alludes to Isa 43:20–21 (cf. Isa 42:12); 1 Pet 2:21–25 quotes at length from Isaiah 53; and 1 Pet 3:13 may allude to Isa 50:9.” Further, Dubis, *Messianic*, 48 n. 6 writes “Other references to Isaiah (outside of Isaiah 40–55) also appear in 1 Peter. See, for example, Isa 28:16 in 1 Pet 2:7 (cf. 2:4); Isa 8:14 in 1 Pet 2:8; Isa 10:3 in 1 Pet 2:12; Isa 8:12 in 1 Pet 3:14; and Isa 11:2 in 1 Pet 4:14.”

46. Building upon the work of Richard, “Functional,” 130–39, Pearson, *Christological*, 223 concludes that in 1 Peter the Christological passages (1:3–12, 1:18–21, 2:4–8, 2:21–25, 3:18–22) function together to construct a theme of suffering/glory. In agreement, Joel B. Green, *1 Peter*, 31 speaks of “the fabula (or story behind the story) of rejection leading to vindication, suffering to glory.”

53.⁴⁷ 1 Peter, then, not only quotes heavily from the HB, but like the *Hodayot*, creatively interprets Isaiah to develop from it a suffering/glory motif which it then applies to the community of the elect. Herein lies another fascinating point of correspondence between the two texts as both texts utilize Isaiah to forge the community's identity and to explain its suffering as the persecuted people of God.

This brief survey indicates that, with respect to their hermeneutical use of the HB, both the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter: (1) quote extensively from and allude to Isaiah, their primary background text; (2) are pervaded by the motif of hope in the midst of suffering that leads to glory; and (3) interpret their respective communities as the redeemed people of the sovereign and merciful God awaiting their future reward. These parallels indicate a similar cognitive environment, an observation which will be strengthened in the next section as I highlight similarities between the texts in worldview and understanding of the existence of the elect.

4.3 Worldview and the Elect's Existence in the *Hodayot*

Examination of the worldview and salient theological topics in the *Hodayot* demonstrates further parallels with 1 Peter.⁴⁸ At the outset, I recognize that theological studies on the *Hodayot* are sparse and dated.⁴⁹ This lacuna in *Hodayot* scholarship is even more acute in relation to the specific topic at hand, namely suffering as an instrument from the hand of God to prevent the elect from sinning.⁵⁰ The following

47. Pearson, *Christological*, 210.

48. Cautiously, Hyatt, "View," 278 avoids the term "doctrine of man" within the *Hodayot* arguing it is not a theological work preferring instead to refer to the "view of man." Nevertheless, Carson, *Divine*, 82 rightly argues it is correct to speak of theological views contained within the *Hodayot*. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 274 rightly concludes, "Not only in their concepts, but also in their language, indeed often in their very wording, these psalms show such a marked degree of uniformity, that it can hardly be a mistake to interpret the theological concepts they contain as one whole."

49. The editors rightly note "there has been no complete commentary written for over forty years," see *DJD* 40, 11–12.

50. Despite fine studies, Hughes, *Allusions* and Newsom, *Self* do not examine the entire *Hodayot*.

analysis will map the *Hodayot*'s worldview and theological boundaries thereby situating a discussion of suffering as an enabler to live rightly.

4.3.1 Psychological Dualism: “flesh” (בשר) and “inclination” (יצר)

In this section, I will explore the *Hodayot*'s views regarding the nature of the “flesh” (בשר) and “inclination” (יצר) within humanity and the elect arguing that the *Hodayot* provides an antecedent to 1 Peter's anthropological views. The *Hodayot* views the “flesh”: (1) as human existence; (2) as containing evil “inclinations” (יצר) and thus, being inherently sinful (cf., Gen 6:5; 8:1; 1 Chr 28:9; 29:18);⁵¹ and (3) as the state of affairs for both the righteous and the wicked. (4) Therefore, while the righteous are members of God's eschatological temple-community and elected to salvation, they nevertheless are faced with the on-going problem of their sinful “flesh.”

Firstly, the *Hodayot* views “flesh” as creaturely, material existence. In this, the *Hodayot* draws from the HB notion of humankind's created existence as from-dust-to-dust.⁵² A sampling of five oft-repeated phrases firmly establish the view that human existence is “fleshly,” material, and finite: “creature of *clay*” (יצר חמר),⁵³ “creature of *dust*” (יצר עפר),⁵⁴ “structure of *dust*” (מבנה עפר),⁵⁵ “structure of *sin*” (מבנה חטאה),⁵⁶ and “born of woman” (ילוד אשה).⁵⁷ In VII 34 the speaker writes, “But what is flesh (בשר) that it should have insight into these things? And how is a creature of dust (יצר עפר) able to direct its steps?”⁵⁸ Here “flesh” is coupled with the notion of existence as

51. Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 78 n. 23.

52. Cf. Gen 2:7; Job 10:9; 30:19; 33:6; Psa 78:38,39; 103:13, 14; 139:14-16; Isa 29:16; 40:6-7; 45:9; 64:8; Jer 18:4, 6; Mal 2:10. See also, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 79.

53. Cf. 1QH^a III 29; IX 23; XII 30; XIX 6; XX 29; XX 35; XXI 38; XXII 12; XXIII 13; XXIII 28; XV 31.

54. Cf. 1QH^a VII 34; VIII 18; XIX 6; XX 29 (from dust, return to dust); XXI 17; XXI 25; XXI 34; XXIII 13. See also, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 88 who notes XX 27f. as a “concrete” expression that sin originates with creation from dust.

55. E.g., 1QH^a V 32.

56. E.g., 1QH^a IX 24.

57. Cf. 1QH^a V 31; XXIII 13-14.

58. *DJD* 40, 106.

“dust.” In XII 30, the speaker unites the notion of “flesh” with “clay” writing, “What being of flesh (בשר) is like this? And what creature of clay (יצר החמר) is able to do wondrous great deeds?”⁵⁹ In V 30-33, the speaker applies two of these phrases to stress that a person, a “spirit of flesh,” is characterized as “fleshly” and ignoble.⁶⁰ He writes, “But how is a spirit of flesh (רוח בשר) to understand all these things . . . What is one born of woman (ילוד אשה) amid all your great fearful acts? He is a thing constructed of dust (מבנה עפר) and kneaded with water” (1QH^a IX 23-25). It is clear enough, then, that to be human is to exist in the “flesh.”

Secondly, the *Hodayot* also views the “flesh” as thoroughly depraved.⁶¹ The *Hodayot* stresses that evil, sin, and guilt comprise the frail human existence of “flesh.”⁶² In some cases, “inclination” (יצר) refers to “impulse” in a negative sense.⁶³ For example, in XIX 22-23 the speaker writes, “As for me, a fount of bitter mourning was opened to me and trouble was not hidden from my eyes when I knew the inclinations (יצר) of humans, and I understood to what mortals return, and I recognized the mournfulness of sin (חטאה).”⁶⁴ In XXIII 13-14 through synonyms such as “a being of dust (יצר עפר),” the speaker ties together existence in the “flesh” with guilt, writing, “You open a fountain in order to reprove a creature of clay (יצר חמר) with respect to his way and the guilt of the one born of woman (ילוד אשה).”⁶⁵ And, lastly, in a notion of inherited, original sin, the speaker refers to birth itself as the point of origin for his guilt:

But I am an unclean person and from the womb of the one who conceived me (I have lived) in faithless guilt (אשמה), and from the breasts of my mother in iniquity (עוולה), and in the bosom of my nurse (attached) to great impurity, and from my childhood in blood guilt, and unto old age in the iniquity (עון) of flesh (בשר) (1QH^a XV 39-40).

59. *DJD* 40, 166.

60. Frey, “Flesh,” 379.

61. Rightly, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 90 says, “Sünde beruht auf der Kreatürlichkeit des Menschen.”

62. Hyatt, “View,” 278.

63. *Ibid.*, 281.

64. *DJD* 40, 248. Cf., 1QH^a XIII 8.

65. *DJD* 40, 281.

The editors draw attention to the list of “anthropological sins” listed in ll. 39-40 and conclude that “sin adheres to the human person ‘until senility’.”⁶⁶ In XII 30-31, the speaker’s notion of human existence as “fleshly” overlaps with the thought of sinfulness:

What being of flesh (בשר) is like this? And what creature of clay (יצר החמר) is able to do wondrous great deeds? It (exists) in sin (עון) from the womb, and until old age in faithless guilt (באשמת מעל). But as for me, I know that righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal.

Frey, rightly, argues this passage, and the *Hodayot* in general, explicitly links the “flesh” with “sin.”⁶⁷

Thirdly, the sinful “flesh” comprises the righteous and the wicked. Throughout the *Hodayot*, the speaker knows that his flesh is not only characterized by perishability and corruption, but also that every aspect of his existence is wrought with iniquity.⁶⁸ In V 32-33, the speaker reflects on his sinfulness, even *after* he, the elect of God, has entered into the community: “He is a thing constructed of dust and kneaded with water. Sinful guilt is his foundation, obscene shame, and a source of impurity. And a perverted spirit rules him.”⁶⁹ The speaker, as a representative of the elect, laments his sinful, finite, earthly existence.⁷⁰ This recognition that all humans are absolutely degenerate, shot through with impurity, is seen time-and-again in *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, psalms-of-misery.⁷¹ Due to thorough corruption by sin, humankind is unable to attain righteousness. Existence in the “flesh,” even for the

66. *DJD* 40, 213.

67. Frey, “Flesh,” 381. Cf., IV 29f.

68. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 274–77.

69. Cf. Job 15:14-16; 25:4-6. Referring to XI 22 and the speaker’s affirmation of God’s completed salvific act, Hübner, “Anthropologischer,” 271 rightly, and rhetorically, asks, “Ist der Beter nun nicht mehr Staub?” See *DJD* 40, 86.

70. Rightly, Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 104 notes, “the psalmist meditates *ad nauseam* on his identity as one created from the dust and from clay, who is utterly unworthy of God’s presence, born into iniquity and unable, of his own accord, to understand God’s ways or meet his righteous demands.”

71. E.g., 1QH f 11,7-10; 1QH 17,19-21 [IV 30-32]; 13,13-18 [V 24-29]; 15,14 [VII 24]; 15,21-22 [VII 31-32]; 1QH f 13.5-6 (too fragm) [see VIII]; 1QH 1,21-27 [IX 22-28]; 4,29-33 [XII 30-34]; 7,28-33 [XV 31-36]; 10,2-12 [XVIII 4-14]; 12,24-36 [XX 27-39]; 18,16-33 [XXI 2-19]; 1QH f 3,6-13 [see XXI]; f 4,10-15 [see XXII]; f. 2,4ff [see XXIV], as cited by Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 74. See also, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 26–29. On IX 23-29, see Lange, *Weisheit*, 223.

elect, is miserable (IX 22-28). The speaker expresses not only that he commits “sins,” but that he *is* sin.⁷² Humankind is רשע “wicked” while God alone is צדיק “righteous.”⁷³ This is not to say that a *component*, such as “flesh” is sin, but that all of the person, the entire existence, is sin.⁷⁴

Fourthly, since the elect exist in the “flesh,” they struggle with the “flesh.” While members of God’s eschatological community and elected to salvation, the righteous nevertheless battle with their sinful “flesh” and the interior evil within them.⁷⁵ According to XV 39-40, sin adheres to the human person from birth until death, and yet, the elect are “‘chosen’ and experience the salvation connected to that.”⁷⁶ 1QH^a XIX 13-17 demonstrates that the elect have been forgiven by God, and purified (טהר) from sins, yet they are not yet fully righteous in the *neue Existenz*.⁷⁷ As I will discuss in Section 4.4.1, IV 31-37 powerfully reflects this thought.⁷⁸ In l. 31, the speaker laments the “perversity” (נעויה) of his “heart” (לבב), but expresses gratitude to God for drawing him back from sinning against him; moreover, in l. 34, the speaker points to God’s disciplines and “tests” (נסוי) which have strengthened his “heart” (לבב) so that he will not stumble and sin against God (l. 35). 1QH^a IV 31-35 provides evidence that “test” (נסוי) is used for purification of interior evil and from sinning. As I will show, the *Hodayot*’s use of “test” and “crucible”/“furnace” represents further

72. Noting the perspective of the speaker as expressed in IX 22-28, Becker, *Heil*, 138 writes, “Ich bin Sünder.”

73. That the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* in IX 23-29 depends on 4Q417 2 i to depict the antithesis between God and humanity, see Lange, *Weisheit*, 225–26.

74. Rightly, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 76 says, “Der Autor beschreibt nämlich nicht Teile seines Körpers, sondern spricht von sich als Ganzem.”

75. Rightly, Barclay, *Obeying*, 190 notes that God’s righteousness and grace in election has not removed “ungodly flesh” from the author of 1QH; worthlessness and sinfulness “reflect the *present* status of the author.”

76. *DJD* 40, 213.

77. Rightly, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 88 notes that while salvation expiates sin, the “fleshly” existence remains; yet, the new existence provides the ability to change and not sin: “Doch Gottes Heilshandeln sühnt seine Sünden und reinigt von Unreinheit (1QS11,14f.), so daß er Gott preisen kann. Er bleibt in seiner niedrigen ‘fleischlichen’ Existenz mit all dem, was ihn von Gott trennt; doch durch Gottes Vergebung erhält er die neue Existenz mit der Befähigung zu vollkommenem Wandel und zum Lobpreis, als dem eigentlichen und letzten Ziel des göttlichen Handelns am Menschen.”

78. *DJD* 40, 73–74.

development in the concept of suffering. The elect still need sanctification from committing sins.⁷⁹ While forgiven of sins, the elect still struggle with their flesh and require further purification to cease from sinning.⁸⁰ The “flesh” and its “inclinations” are an ever-present enemy within the righteous.⁸¹ One of the grounds for the speaker’s longing and “hope” for God’s eschatological judgment is that the eschaton promises final cleansing of the בשר of the elect from its sinful inclinations.⁸² The speaker, then, hopes for the eschatological end, the time when his “flesh” will be cleansed, finally and completely, from all evil.

This theme resonates deeply with 1 Pet 2:11, 24; 4:1. The negative understanding of בשר in the *Hodayot* as sinful, humanly existence provides a backdrop to the author’s anthropological views. The speaker seeks resolution to an interior crisis, a battle between sinful inclinations and God’s spirit within the elect which has the capacity to lead the elect to commit sins incompatible with their new existence. This “interior discourse,” reflection on and deep concern over the evil within the elect, correlates with 1 Peter’s description of a battle within the elect between their “soul” (ψυχή) and the evil “desires of the flesh” (σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, 1 Pet. 2:11, cf. 1:14; 4:2-3). In this, then, both texts share common anthropological views.

4.3.2 Election and “Insight” for Resolving Psychological Dualism

Throughout the *Hodayot*, the speaker’s lament of his lowliness is “framed” by thanksgiving.⁸³ On the one hand, the speaker (like 1QS)⁸⁴ is acutely aware of an

79. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 64.

80. Reflecting on the paucity of the term קדש (“holy”) in relation to the elect, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 291–92 n. 32 argues that the righteous are “holy” due to their contact with God, his revelation, and his holy spirit; thus, holiness “is not due to the quality of the members” but due to God’s cleansing, “so that he can sanctify himself unto Thee from the dishonour of all filth.”

81. Rightly, Frey, “Flesh” argues that in the *Hodayot* the negative view of σάρξ applies to both the elect and the ungodly.

82. Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 138.

83. Newsom, *Self*, 207.

84. 1QS is another text within the DSS corpus which, like the *Hodayot*, includes the idea that a battle between good and evil is on-going within mankind (e.g., 3:13-4:1, *The Treatise on the*

interior conflict within him between good and evil forces.⁸⁵ This conflict is demonstrated dualistically through the presence of different spirits. Merrill writes,

1QH XIV, 11-12 [VI 22-23] appears to be the only passage in the *Hodayot* where the two spirits are clearly mentioned, but allusions to dualism are found in a number of places. In some cases various aspects of the universe are “apportioned” (פִּלְגַּ), suggesting a dualistic division (I, 16-18) [IX 17-19] in God’s creation. In other texts, man’s destiny is related to the spirit which has been fashioned for him (IV, 31; X, 22; XIII, 5; XV, 13-14, 22; XVI, 10) [XII 32; XVIII 24; V 16; VII 23-24, 32; VIII 17]. In still other passages, the spirit which God gives is said to provide knowledge (XII, 11-12; XIII, 19; XVII, 17) [XX 14-15; V 20; IV 28]. In one or two places, the spirits contend within man for dominion over him (XIII, 15-16) [V 26-27]. All in all, it is clear that the doctrine of dualism, expressed frequently in the concept of the two spirits, is an integral part of Qumranian predestination.⁸⁶

On the other hand, the speaker has “insight” (שִׁכְלָ) of his election through revealed knowledge, and election leads to pardoning of sin and salvation, the speaker’s basis for praising God.⁸⁷ So, despite interior wickedness incompatible with his elect status, he does not despair.⁸⁸ The speaker draws comfort from “insight” that God appoints all humanity either to salvation (the elect) or to damnation (the wicked).⁸⁹ God “casts the lot” between good and evil for every person and “determined their recompense” (VI 22-23).⁹⁰ A striking example of God’s sovereignty in election is found in VII 26-30, 35.⁹¹ The speaker writes:

And I know that in your hand is the inclination of every spirit, all its activity you determined before you created it. How could anyone change your words? You alone created the righteous, and from the womb you prepared him for the time of favour, to be attentive to your covenant and to walk in all your way, and to advance (him) upon it in your abundant compassion, and to relieve all the distress of his soul for eternal salvation and everlasting peace, without lack. And so you raise his honour higher than flesh. But the wicked you created for the purpose of your wrath, and from the womb you dedicated them for the day

Two Spirits; 4:2-14, *Activity of the Spirits in Human Life*; 4:15-26, *Destiny and End of the Spirits*). Unlike the *Hodayot*, though, 1QS does not deal with suffering and is not the appropriate backdrop for 1 Peter’s view of suffering.

85. Merrill, *Qumran*, 26–28.

86. See Merrill, *Qumran*, 28 who follows Sukenik numbering. Brackets provide *editio princeps* reference.

87. Pointing to the constant refrain “and I know” (וְאֵדָעָה), Newsom, “Apocalyptic,” 16 argues this is an indicator of hidden knowledge revealed to the speaker. Other recurring terms indicating this: “plan” (מַתְּשִׁבֶּת), “mystery” (רִזְ), “knowledge” (דַּעַת), and “understanding” (בִּינָה).

88. Newsom, *Self*, 194.

89. Hyatt, “View,” 280.

90. *DJD* 40, 96.

91. See Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 63. Also, Lange, *Weisheit*, 214 who notes similar thought in IX 9f.

of slaughter. . . . You yourself have formed the spirit and determined its activity [from of old. And from you (comes) the way of every living being. . . .]⁹²

As in other Jewish apocalyptic literature, the *Hodayot* views history as determined by God with its outcome built into the fabric of the universe (IX 25-26).⁹³ God, in wisdom, determined the course of all creation, including the acts of humanity, by his righteous wisdom (IX 6-22, 29-33),⁹⁴ and to God alone belongs “all the works of righteousness” (XII 32; cf. IV 32).

“Insight,” then, resolves the speaker’s anxiety that although he desires to praise God and do good, his human existence, wrought as it were with evil inclinations, renders him incapable of doing so (IV 35).⁹⁵ Without election, the speaker faces the crisis of a looming and inescapable judgment (IX 23). Through revelation, the speaker knows that God designed the resolution to the elect’s lowliness before creation.⁹⁶ So, the *Hodayot*’s praise of God does not arise from the removal of the elect’s sinful existence, but from “insight” regarding election and future salvation,⁹⁷ given by a sovereign God as an unmerited gift.⁹⁸ In the worldview of the *Hodayot*, the cosmos is a grand script written by God to demonstrate his own glory through determination of the roles of the wicked and the elect.⁹⁹

4.3.3 Present Hope of Imminent Salvation to End Suffering

In this worldview, the elect possess a present hope born out of knowledge that as God’s redeemed, earthly temple-community they have a future salvation and will be spared God’s coming wrath against the ungodly. Examination of two terms, מִקְוֶה and

92. *DJD* 40, 106.

93. Cf. *1 En.* 80:6; *4 Ezra* 5:50-55, as discussed in Collins, “Cosmos,” 135–36.

94. See Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 164–65. According to Lange, *Weisheit*, 213–15, 227–28, the “creation-hymn” (*Schöpfungshymnus*) serves, for the *yahad*, to indicate that God determined and specified all human actions at creation.

95. Newsom, *Self*, 262.

96. E.g., IX 23, 26. Cited by Lange, *Weisheit*, 230.

97. Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 93.

98. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 63.

99. Newsom, *Self*, 214.

תקוה in three separate psalms provides evidence of this. While both terms are translated “hope,” the speaker utilizes them distinctly to indicate his temporal frame of reference and emphasize different theological aspects of salvation.

4.3.3.1 Future Salvation, Present Persecutions and Imminent Judgment

The *Hodayot* contrasts future eschatological judgment of the ungodly with the elect’s future salvation, and therein offers its community hope. In VI 15-16, despite persecutions the speaker’s tone is upbeat and expectant as he encourages the elect to persevere “to the time of your judgments, and watch for your salvation.” The hopeful perspective is strengthened by the knowledge that the eschatological end not only brings salvation for the elect but also judgment for evildoers who, along with wickedness, God “will destroy forever” (VI 26-27).¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in VII 27-29 (cf. II. 32, 38) the “righteous” have been created (ברא) by God for “eternal salvation” while the wicked, “you created (ברא) for the purpose of your wrath, and from the womb you dedicated them for the day of slaughter.” In full recognition of his and the community’s lowly “flesh” (בשר, I. 25), the speaker praises God for determining their “eternal salvation” and escape from “the day of slaughter” (I. 30).¹⁰¹

With each reference to present hope (תקוה),¹⁰² one to future, eschatological hope (מקוה) also occurs (XI 21; XIV 9; XVII 14).¹⁰³ Furthermore, each time the two terms occur together, there is a reference to present sufferings at the hands of the ungodly as well as references to future eschatological judgment of the ungodly. Judgment offers “hope” because the speaker knows that the ungodly will perish.¹⁰⁴

100. H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 38.

101. Characteristically, the speaker combines a salvation-confession with a confession-of-lowliness “Niedrigkeitsdoxologie.” See, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 71.

102. Cf. XI 28; XIV 35; XVII 12.

103. The one exception is in column XXII 11, 18 where מקוה occurs without תקוה. Context indicates the psalm may have contained תקוה, but this remains speculation due to the fragmentary nature of the text.

104. H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 39.

With judgment (as well as final salvation) viewed as imminent,¹⁰⁵ this future hope of salvation is experienced proleptically.

Future מְקוֹה (“hope”) is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, the speaker cries out because of his suffering at the hands of the ungodly (XI 26-28). Until the eschaton, the speaker and the community face the on-going persecution by the wicked who revile them. The *Hodayot*, drawing heavily from HB metaphors, portrays this struggle, between the elect and external opponents, in terms of the conflict between God and the forces of evil.¹⁰⁶ The struggle of the community, like the cosmic battle, ultimately, is to bring God glory (XII 38-39), a theme found also in 1 Peter (cf. 2:9,12; 4:11,16; 5:8-9).

Secondly, future מְקוֹה (“hope”) is remarkable because prior to God’s righteous judgment suffering will increase to dreadful proportions. In poetic language, the speaker prophetically laments that when “all the snares of the pit are open, and all the nets of wickedness are spread, and the seine of the vile ones is upon the surface of the waters; when all the arrows of the pit fly without cease and are shot,” then the elect will be at their darkest hour (XI 26-28). Just prior to God’s intervening judgment, no “hope” (תְּקוֹה) will remain.

The two terms for “hope” occur together because the speaker desires to convey his “insight” that present suffering, although increasing to horrific proportions, will conclude in “the time of wrath” (XI 29). At that point in history, God’s judgment comes upon “all devilishness” (l. 29) resulting in “the war of the champions” (l. 37). In this eschatological battle described in apocalyptic language,¹⁰⁷ “heaven sweeps through the world and does not turn back until full consummation” (ll. 37-38). Belial,¹⁰⁸ the leader of wickedness, unleashes horrific “torrents” of fiery evil (ll. 30-33) causing

105. See Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 89–90 and also Kittel, *Hymns*, 12.

106. Kittel, *Hymns*, 12–13.

107. Pointing to the author’s creative combination of HB images, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 75 argues the psalm’s “representation of the final defeat of the powers of evil in God’s war . . . has much in common with the Late Jewish apocalyptic literature, though there does not seem to be any direct use of it.”

108. “Belial,” possibly, as a term for Satan. See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 71 n. 37.

devastation throughout the earth. But, Belial and the wicked are no match for God's fury.

God's purification of "great sin" (XI 22) will allow the speaker to avoid God's outpouring of "fury" (I. 29).¹⁰⁹ Having "insight" into his future destiny, the speaker praises God for purifying (I. 22), electing (I. 22), and placing him in an eternal council (סוד עולם, I. 22), the community of the elect. Instead of experiencing God's wrath with the wicked, he has taken his "place with the host of the holy ones" and entered into "community with the congregation of the children of heaven" (II. 22-23). Despite his current sufferings and recognition of the forthcoming destruction throughout the world by Belial (I. 34) which leaves no תקוה, the speaker, ultimately has מִקְוֶה, a "hope" in the future eschatological judgment of God which will bring vindication. Insight concerning God's final victory and restoration of the elect allows the speaker proleptically to experience this future מִקְוֶה.

Very briefly, two other psalms are worth mentioning to illustrate further the *Hodayot's* emphasis that present hope rests upon a coming, future salvation. In a psalm beginning at XIII 22 and ending at XV 8, the speaker points to future, eschatological מִקְוֶה, even in the midst of trials.¹¹⁰ He says,

I know that there is hope (מִקְוֶה) for those who repent of transgression and for those who abandon sin and to walk in the way of your heart without iniquity. And I am reassured concerning the tumult of the people and the clamour of kingdoms when they gather together for my salvation, whom I 11. you will raise up in little while, survivors among your people and a remnant in your inheritance. And you refine them in order to purify from guilt and from sin all 12. their deeds by means of your truth. (XIV 9-12a)

As in XI 20-37, future מִקְוֶה is coupled with God's imminent, eschatological judgment. The community waits expectantly for when "the sword of God will come quickly at the time of judgment" (XIV 32). The final, eschatological battle will leave

109. *Contra* Buchanan, "Expectations," 97ff, 227ff that the language refers only to human, national emergencies, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 42 rightly notes the lack of any historical reference and the psalm's overall picture of future, and final, tribulations.

110. *DJD* 40, 184.

the “guilty” without “hope” (תקוה, l. 35) because there will be “no escape for a guilty creature” (l. 35).

The third psalm (XVI 5-XVII 37) also expresses a present and future hope.¹¹¹ In XXVII 10-12, the speaker says “I . . . accept my afflictions, because I wait expectantly for your kindness.” In waiting, the speaker expresses his thankfulness to God: “you have not reproached my life, nor rejected my well-being, nor forsaken my hope (תקוה) . . . in the face of affliction.” Hope, in line 12, is a present condition arising from God’s forgiveness and help in the midst of persecutions. The speaker recounts “you have comforted me, and in (your) forgiveness I take delight; so I am comforted concerning previous sin” (l. 13). But in lines 14-15, the speaker switches from the present to the future and looks forward to eschatological judgment. His “hope” (מקוה) is in God’s “kindness” which he expects in “judgment” (l. 15). In summary, the *Hodayot* conveys present hope, during the current evil age, through a future, eschatological hope in God’s imminent judgment and salvation. In this worldview, the community’s conflict with the ungodly is a local manifestation of a world-wide conflict between God’s people and the ungodly arising out of a cosmic battle between God and evil.

The worldview of the *Hodayot* parallels that of 1 Peter in which the author writes of an on-going struggle between the community of believers, the “elect” (ἐκλεκτοί, 1:1), and those external to the community, e.g. “pagans” (ἔθνη, 2:12) who accost and revile them. Both texts describe interior battles (within the elect against evil) and external battles (with the ungodly outside the community). These battles are cast as good versus evil and mirror an on-going, cosmic battle between God/Christ and the devil/powers (1 Pet. 5:8; cf. 3:22). Both the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter, then, reflect a number of different “dualisms,” the κόσμος in both texts is constructed in terms of opposites.¹¹²

111. *DJD* 40, 228.

112. Rightly, Kittel, *Hymns*, 13 notes that the *Hodayot* language and thought is characteristically cast in contrasts: “God-man, purity-sin, life-death, salvation-damnation.” She

In this way, both the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter convey present hope, during the current evil age, through a future, eschatological hope in God's imminent judgment and salvation. Both texts present a worldview in which the community's conflict with the ungodly is a local manifestation of a world-wide conflict between God's people and the ungodly arising out of a cosmic conflict between God and evil; moreover, this conflict plays out as a battle against *interior* evil "desires" or spirits. At all levels, judgment offers the hope of final victory over evil.

4.3.3.2 Identity as God's Earthly Temple-Community

In the psalm in XI 20-37,¹¹³ temporal (eschatological) dualism is coupled with spatial dualism. An aspect of present salvation is membership in God's earthly, temple-community. Since God has "redeemed" (פדה, l. 19) the speaker, he expresses future eschatological "hope" (מקוה, l. 21).¹¹⁴ The speaker proleptically experiences this future hope because God placed him into an "eternal council" (סוד עולם, l. 22), understood as the speaker's community (l. 23).¹¹⁵ This community of saints begins experiencing the heavenly glory through their participation with "the congregation of the children of heaven" (ll. 22-23), the angels.¹¹⁶ Fellowship with angels expresses present

helpfully distinguishes between these contrasts, often referred to as "dualism," with the anthropological "dualism" found with the *Hodayot*. She correctly notes that the term "dualism" classifies many contrasts including, but not limited to, the power struggles in the exterior world between the community and its opponents as well as power struggles within the individual between different spirits.

113. *DJD* 40, 146.

114. See H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 34 who explicitly points to "hope" in XI 21 as future eschatological. Also, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 176 writes, "In 3,20 [XI 21] kann trotz eines eschatologisch-gegenwärtigen Heilsverständnisses in üblicher Weise von der 'Hoffnung' auf das zukünftige Heil gesprochen werden." *Contra* Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 110 that מקוה means "a pool of gathered water."

115. Cf. 4:25 [XII 26]; 5:24 [XIII 26]; 6:26 [XIV 29] as cited in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 67-68 who concludes, סוד עולם is "a fixed term for the community" and refers to "fellowship of the chosen saints within the community." See also VI 17, 29, 32; XI 22; XIV 8; XXV 26. In agreement, Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 257 that סוד means "human institutions."

116. If בני שמים "children of heaven" is a parallel to Job 1:6 and Ps 82:6, then, as Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 68 n.11 points out, "the expression here also must refer to angels." He rightly notes this participation is not in a heavenly realm, but membership in the community which includes fellowship with God.

communion with God through membership in the community which signals final eschatological salvation, for the speaker's "lot" (גורל, l. 23), is "eternal."¹¹⁷ As in IV 22, this eternal, future "lot" (inheritance) is according to the pre-determined plan of God which unfolds to its imminent conclusion through the community.¹¹⁸ In and through the community, then, members presently experience salvation as they await future, and final, salvation.

Fletcher-Louis, on the other hand, argues that in the *Hodayot*, and especially in XI 19-23, redemption results in transformation into an angelomorphic existence, and the elect experience a vertical ascent to join in the heavenly liturgy. He writes, "as a member of the community of the righteous who have already experienced God's salvation the psalmist speaks of his inclusion in the heavenly angelic realm (11:21-23; 14:13; 19:10b-14; 23:10; 26:6-7)."¹¹⁹ Fletcher-Louis asserts that the Qumran community "evinced their belief in the angelic or divine nature of the true humanity."¹²⁰ Therefore, Fletcher-Louis interprets salvific statements in the *Hodayot* along the same lines: redemption infers *immediate* transformation to a prelapsarian Adamic, and divine, state. This need not be the case.

Firstly, Fletcher-Louis assumes a monolithic theology shared by all members of the sect over the life of the community, allowing him to read the *Hodayot* through the lens of other sectarian texts such as 1QS. While the *Hodayot* is obviously sectarian, it does not necessarily follow that it corresponds identically with other sectarian texts found at Qumran. The *Hodayot's* extremely pessimistic anthropology demonstrates the truth of this statement, a fact Fletcher-Louis readily acknowledges!¹²¹ Secondly, if XI

117. Within the "community" songs, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 70 notes "Diese Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln konnte dann auch als eschatologisch-gegenwärtiges Geschehen gedeutet werden." As H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 73 points out, גורל "sind in der spätjüdischen Literatur charakteristische Begriffe bei der Beschreibung des eschatologischen Heils (oder Unheils)." Cf. XI 23, cited in H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 75.

118. Rightly, Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 72 notes the grammatical indicators of a progression, namely "salvation" (Perf.), then "salvation-confession" (Impf. cons.), which results in "hope" (Impf. cons.).

119. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 104.

120. *Ibid.*, 91.

121. *Ibid.*, 104.

20-37 is a so-called “Teacher Hymn,” that is an individual thanks hymn (*Danklied des Einzelnen*) and not an example of a “Community Hymn,” then the psalm *may* represent the exalted state of the speaker.¹²² As I stated earlier, delineation between Teacher and Community hymns is beyond the scope of this study. It is worth noting here, though, that Fletcher-Louis’s sweeping conclusions would be mitigated if XI 20-37 applies only to the speaker and not to the community members. Thirdly, Fletcher-Louis forces the text, especially XI 19-23, to bend to his *a priori* conclusions. For example, he argues for the esoteric translation of מִקְוֵה (l. 21) as “ritual bathing pool” instead of “hope” because, he argues, “bathing pools” were important to the sect, were found at Qumran, and fit with the sect’s priestly self-image.¹²³ But, the presence and importance of ritual cleansing pools and a priestly self-understanding need not underlie every term or psalm. Ritual cleansing is not in view in XI 21. Fourthly, Fletcher-Louis assumes that purification from sins and entrance into the community necessarily includes a vertical component because, to Fletcher-Louis, *entrance* into the community leads to *conversion* which leads to *resurrection*.¹²⁴ In this logic, Fletcher-Louis associates being created as “dust” with spiritual death and entrance into community/conversion with spiritual life. The *Hodayot* speaker, however, associates “dust” with creaturely existence, not spiritual death. Creaturely existence necessarily involves sinning, and thus, eventually, judgment. As I have shown, salvation is assured by God’s merciful election which leads to redemption and placement in the community, but the elect (including the speaker) remain as they were created, that is “dust.” As discussed above, this creaturely existence is the reason for the psalm’s continued laments. Both speaker and community members are ever cognizant of their lowly state and propensity to sin. In sum, Fletcher-Louis has overstated the degree to which the *Hodayot* depicts a change in existence as “flesh” and “dust,” and a vertical ascent is not in view.

122. For delineation of psalms, see Lange, *Weisheit*, 200 who points to the introductory formula “I thank you, Lord” as indicating XI 20-37 is an individual thank song.

123. Acknowledging that the term is universally translated as “hope,” see Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 109–10.

124. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 112.

Spatially, the elect reside in an earthly community conceived along temple-priestly lines. Returning to XI, the community experiences a new intimacy with God, expressed in terms of fellowship with the angels. But, this is to be understood along the lines of the HB concept of “walking with God,”¹²⁵ not movement by the elect up to the *heavenly* sphere.¹²⁶ The elect are members of an *earthly* community with a priestly self-understanding mediated through “temple symbolism.”¹²⁷ This imagery is seen in XIV 29 as the speaker, amidst persecution, reflects on God giving him refuge by placing him into the community, metaphorically comprised of “tested stones” (אבני בחן) which make a “building” (בניית).¹²⁸

The community’s self-understanding in the *Hodayot* provides a striking antecedent to that found in 1 Peter 2:4-10, a description unique in the NT.¹²⁹ The elect have an “inheritance” (κληρονομία, 1 Pet 1:4) signaling a future σωτηρία.¹³⁰ While awaiting future salvation, believers currently experience salvation in that they have become God’s people, his temple-community. 1 Peter, like the *Hodayot*, conceives of the elect along priestly lines, as stones built by God into a building for him (cf. 1 Pet 2:5). Thus, in the *Hodayot* as in 1 Peter, “hope” and “lot” (as future inheritance)

125. Membership in the community entails “fellowship with God and His angels” which Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 68 n. 11 parallels with “the idea of ‘walking with God’ in Gen 5:22; 6:9.”

126. While H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 161 is correct that the speaker refers back to entering the community by the phrase “you have lifted me up to an eternal height” (XI 21), he misinterprets this to mean that the elect reside in the “heavenlies.” Rightly, Hübner, “Anthropologischer,” 273 concludes that the Qumran pious ones are not transferred to the heavens during their lifetime. Instead, Hübner, “Anthropologischer,” 283 argues correctly that reception of the Spirit should be conceived along the lines of the HB to mean purification of sins and entrance into the community.

127. See H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 167. That revelatory knowledge of election (H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 115, 138) is bound up with the relationship between temple-symbolism and priestly self-understanding, (XIX 5-12, cf., XI 21), see H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 173, 175.

128. Editors note manuscript photographs demonstrate this reading “is preserved and this makes obsolete all those suggested completions from earlier commentators that inserted an additional word at the end of the line . . . The traces are most compatible with the noun לבניית,” see *DJD* 40, 193.

129. The question of tradition-historical links between the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter is noted by H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 180 who draws attention to the remarkably similar thought world including light-darkness dualism to represent insiders vs. outsiders, and especially, the priestly and temple self-understanding.

130. Concurring, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 179–80 writes “Im direkten Zusammenhang findet sich in V4 auch noch die eschatologische κληρονομία entsprechend dem eschatologischen גורל in 1QH 3,22 (vgl. o.).”

indicate movement along temporal lines,¹³¹ and a temple identity indicates their selection as God's end-time people awaiting final salvation. Both texts utilize temple imagery to construct their communal identity as the true temple of God.¹³² Further, both texts consider suffering at the hands of the ungodly a necessary and critical component of their existence as God's temple-community.

4.3.3.3 The Spirit of God on the Community and Eschatological Salvation

In the *Hodayot*, God's gift of the Spirit results in three aspects of present salvation which convey and confirm future salvation. Firstly, the Spirit sanctifies the elect (XI 22; XIX 13; XX 14-16; cf., 1 Pet 1:2). Secondly, the reception of the Spirit is connected with entrance into the community (V 30, VIII 18, XX 14f.; cf. 1 Pet 1:1, 12; 2:9).¹³³ Thus, the community (*die Gemeinde*) becomes the "living sphere" of God (*der Lebenssphäre Gottes*).¹³⁴ Thirdly, the Spirit provides "insight," a realization that entrance into the community relates to election (VI 19-33; cf. 1 Pet 1:12; 2:9-10).¹³⁵ The elect "know" (בִּין) and have "insight" (בִּינה) that their "lot" includes entrance into the community,¹³⁶ and this proleptic event indicates future salvation.¹³⁷

131. See H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 74 who writes, "Das 'Los' dient zur Bezeichnung des künftigen Heils (oder Unheils), ohne daß eine räumliche Vorstellung mitschwingt."

132. In agreement with Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 36 that behind the author's "understanding of the essence of being a Christian, stands a complex of tradition that proceeds from the self-understanding of the Qumran community," namely "the Church is the holy, priestly people of the eschaton, who live in the present as foreigners." For an extensive discussion of 1 Peter's temple-community identity and antecedents within the DSS, see Mbuvi, *Temple*, Section 3.3.4.

133. That reception of the Spirit, entrance into community, and salvation are connected, see H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 130. That sanctification is connected with communal entrance, see H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 133. That the phrase רוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי ("spirit which you gave to me") corresponds to communal entrance, see H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 134.

134. H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 182.

135. Rightly, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 131 argues the connection between gift of the spirit and entering the community is clearest in VI 19-33. Further, II. 24, 29 connects the Spirit with "insight," see H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 161.

136. H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 161.

137. See, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 168. Rightly, H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 184 notes that inaugurated aspects of salvation (e.g., being in the "living sphere" of God, the community) is not over-against or instead of future-salvation.

“Insight,” sanctification, and entrance into the community, then, operate together and convey present aspects of salvation. For example, in XIX the speaker praises God for “insight,” “sanctification,” and membership among the elect. The speaker blesses God for “you have given me insight into your wondrous deeds” (l. 7). He recognizes that God “purified a mortal from sin so that he [the speaker] may sanctify himself” (l. 13) as he is “united with the children of your [God’s] truth” (l. 14). In summary, God grants the Spirit, realization, and membership in the community to signal eschatological salvation and thereby provide the elect with future hope.¹³⁸

As in the *Hodayot*, revealed knowledge is given by the Spirit in 1 Peter (1 Pet 1:10-12). The author “knows” of believers’ future inheritance, reward, and glory at Christ’s revelation (1 Pet 1:3-5), knowledge which provides believers with present hope in the midst of persecution. They can cast their anxiety on God because “God’s mighty right hand” (5:6) will restore and strengthen them after they have suffered a little while (5:10). Hope stems from knowledge that the pagans who oppress them will be justly and imminently judged (1 Pet 1:17; 2:8; 2:23; 4:5, 7, 17, 18; 5:5), a destiny to which they have been “appointed” (τίθημι, 1 Pet 2:8). As texts intended to be read and/or sung by members of the community,¹³⁹ their respective discourses provide explanations of and assign meaning to interior and external conflicts.¹⁴⁰

4.3.4 Determinism in the *Hodayot* versus Human Agency in 1 Peter

I pause to note a critical difference between the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter. On the one hand, 1 Peter, like the *Hodayot*, emphasizes God’s sovereignty in election in contrast to

138. So “seeing,” explains H-W Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 172–73, is realization that communal membership in fact conveys eschatological significance.

139. Schuller, “Function,” 177–83.

140. As Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 308–9 discusses, the *Hodayot* appropriates the HB to express complaint and thanksgiving arising out of “the community’s understanding of its own existence as the persecuted and suffering in an evil world.” Thus, circumstances lead the author(s) to express a whole concept of life, namely “salvation has been given within the community, but given to people who are still surrounded by a world of evil and still bound by their own corruptibility.” So also in 1 Peter.

humankind's finiteness.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, 1 Peter, unlike the *Hodayot*, conceives of the elect as possessing the agency to choose. As I discussed in chapter three, the ἔννοια (“attitude”) which Peter exhorts believers to adopt (1 Pet 4:1) is precisely that ἔννοια exhibited by Christ, namely his trust in God. As in 1:13 where 1 Peter commands believers to “gird up the loins of your mind,” this ἔννοια of entrusting oneself to God is active, not passive. In 1 Peter, the elect are responsible moral agents.

In contrast, the *Hodayot* speaker views himself as a completely passive agent in the cosmic drama.¹⁴² Newsom notes this key difference between the *Hodayot* and the Psalms, for example, writing,

The classical psalmist may be unable to deliver himself from his foes, but he does appear as an agent in his own drama, calling on God for help and often promising something of value, his praise, in return (e.g., Psalm 142). In the *hodayah* under consideration there is no recollection of a cry for help. The self constructed in this and similar *Hodayot* is not an agent but, one might almost say, a site of divine activity.¹⁴³

Utilizing excerpts from Psa 119 (vv. 65-70, 97-102, 121-128), Newsom demonstrates the radical difference between the language of “self” used by the Psalmist and that of the *Hodayot* speaker. Rightly, she notes that the Psalmist “foregrounds” himself with language such as “I do this” and “I do that,” which stands in stark contrast to the *Hodayot* speaker who proclaims his own “moral incapacity.”¹⁴⁴ 1 Peter, then, aligns with the Psalmist, viewing the elect as capable and active moral agents.

Firstly, 1 Peter utilizes imperative verbs and participles to exhort paraenetic material, a signal that believers must *do* something.¹⁴⁵ Secondly, Christ's example demonstrates an *active* relinquishment of retaliation (2:21-23). Thirdly, although trusting in God results in non-retaliation, this restraint is in the first instance an *active*

141. Cf. 1 Pet. 1:24; cf. 1:1-2; 2:4, 9.

142. Rightly, Newsom, *Self*, 265 notes that “all moral initiative is attributed to God and utter moral incapacity is attributed to the speaker.”

143. Newsom, *Self*, 236.

144. To Newsom, *Self*, 269–72 the contrast is even greater in comparison with Sirach (e.g., Sir. 15:11-16). In effect, Ben Sira places agency almost entirely within the individual. In a slight critique of Newsom's assessment, Hughes, *Allusions*, 92–93 points to the potter/clay metaphor in Sir 33:13 which, she contends, “can also lend itself to varying degrees of deterministic interpretation.”

145. On Peter's preference for aorist imperatives (22x), see Elliott, *1 Peter*, 39.

agency. Deliberately choosing to suffer and relinquish both the desire for and the act of revenge *is* acting.¹⁴⁶ Fourthly, Peter's warfare command (ὁπλίζομαι, 4:1; cf. στρατεύομαι, 2:11) makes most sense when believers are viewed as active agents in the moral drama. 1 Peter's concept of trust in God, then, is by no means passive and resonates more with the HB Psalms and, possibly, Sirach, than with the *Hodayot*.

In 1 Peter, then, believers have the responsibility to follow in Christ's footsteps. Failing here means failing to trust God and, possibly, failing in the test of the genuineness of their faith. Therefore, election and believer's agency, two-sides of faith in God, occur together, albeit in tension with one another. This difference between the two texts is important for placing a finer point on the importance of believer's agency in 1 Peter, but it does not detract from the fact that the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter still bear remarkable similarities in their worldview and theology. This leads to the next section where I will argue that persecution by hostile opponents in both texts causes the elect to suffer and functions as an instrument for the elect to conquer the evil in their "flesh."

4.4 Unjust Suffering as an Enabler to Live Rightly

In this section, I will investigate the following psalms (IV 21-27, 29-37; V 12 - VI 33; XIII 7-21) to determine whether they provide evidence from EYL of the view that suffering by the righteous elect, at the hands of the ungodly, serves as an instrument to purify the elect from evil desires, and enables them to cease from sinning.

4.4.1 1QH^a IV 21-27, 29-37

In the second and third psalms in column four of the reconstructed *Hodayot* scroll (IV

146. Rightly, Neugebauer, "Deutung," 80 says, "Leiden oder Handeln, sondern Leiden als Handelnde, Handeln als Leidende."

21-27; 29-37),¹⁴⁷ the speaker indicates that suffering conquers interior evil spirits and results in sinless behavior. These psalms, and the *Hodayot* in general, present a worldview in which God has orchestrated every aspect of the speaker's existence. Newsom regards the third psalm (ll. 29-37) as a "predestined drama" in which the speaker attributes his moral agency and achievements as completely due to God's sovereignty and "graciousness".¹⁴⁸ In both psalms, the topic is "spirit" (רוח), and as the editors of the *editio princeps* indicate, "the negative terminology in these lines suggests that the section describes the trials and afflictions of humankind that are effected by means of spirits of evil."¹⁴⁹ A battle rages within the speaker between good and evil spirits, and this orchestrated "drama" includes God installing *all* of the spirits within the speaker (IV 28-37).

Both psalms open with a blessing, and the speaker's attitude of thankful humility orients the community to God's activity on their behalf.¹⁵⁰ In the midst of the blessing, though, all is not well with his soul as he laments lingering and potentially devastating problems. Firstly, evil spirits, if left unchecked, cause all sorts of iniquity. Even the presence of the Spirit, in and of itself, does not remove the evil spirits within the speaker nor ensure the speaker's right behavior. Secondly, the speaker acknowledges the inadequacy of his agency for the task at hand. Because of the "perversity of his heart" (l. 31) as a "spirit of flesh" (רוח בשר), l. 37),¹⁵¹ he has "wallowed in impurity" (l. 31). These admissions intentionally highlight the speaker's

147. Based largely on the work of Stegemann, "Psalms," 230, the editors note the presence of *vacat* lines in column IV which leads most scholars to posit a series of psalms in the column, see *DJD* 40, 64. Division of the psalms: beginning of psalm 1 is unclear due to the poor condition of column III, nevertheless a psalm clearly ends on IV 20; psalm 2 = lines IV 21-27; psalm 3 = lines IV 29-37; psalm 4 = IV 38-bottom of column.

148. Newsom, *Self*, 266.

149. Stegemann, "Psalms," 74.

150. E.g., ברוך אתה אל ("Blessed are you, O God"). That a blessing is characteristic of all the *Hodayot* psalms, see Newsom, *Self*, 266. 1 Peter also opens with a blessing (Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, 1 Pet 1:3). While 1 Peter blesses God that the Messiah, Christ, has already come, the *Hodayot* awaits expectantly for God's deliverance.

151. Correctly, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 275 n. 3 points out that "spirit of flesh," here, "simply means man himself, his inmost being, his nature, that which is usually represented in the O.T. by נפש."

abysmal prospects, and they clear the deck of any notion that the speaker's agency could resolve his interior problem. Just as God "chose" him and gave him his Spirit, God must intervene *further*. The speaker indicates that God does something else to strengthen (l. 34) and purify his heart (l. 38) in order to "draw him back from sinning" (l. 34). I argue that God's "disciplines" (l. 34, יִסּוּר) function in this manner.

Newsom, however, thinks that language referring to "disciplines" (l. 34, יִסּוּר) in the third psalm (IV 29-37) center around the fellowship of the community and entrance into the sect. Although noting an issue with her argument, namely that "there is little overt reference to the community and its significance in the Hodayot," she argues the community is in view because "your disciplines" (יִסּוּרֶיךָ, l. 34) is intimately related to "insight" (שִׂכְלָה, l. 33) as they "echo the language of the Serek ha-Yahad."¹⁵² Newsom's view, then, depends on reading the text through the lens of 1QS in which "insight" is a quality given by God, "examined and evaluated through the practices of the community (1QS 5:21, 23, 23; 6:14, 19; 9:13, 15)"; moreover, she argues "discipline" (יִסּוּר) as used within 1QS "is a term that points to the praxis of the community as the means by which the contradiction of a moral life without an autonomous moral agent is resolved."¹⁵³ Thus, according to Newsom, "when the speaker of the psalm refers to 'insight' and 'disciplines,' it is specifically their meanings with the communal life of the sect that are in view."¹⁵⁴

In what follows, I suggest that the speaker conceives of "disciplines" (יִסּוּר, l. 34) as a parallel term for "tests" referring to "purification through suffering" instead of "communal practices." Understood in this way, "disciplines," like "tests," originate in the providential will of God and keep the speaker "from sinning against [God]" (l. 35). The speaker says:

you draw him back from sinning against you. And in order to *b* to him his humility through your disciplines and through your tests you have strengthened his heart . . . your servant from sinning against you and from stumbling in all the matters of your will . . . Strengthen his loins that he may stand against

152. Newsom, *Self*, 268.

153. *Ibid.*

154. *Ibid.*

spirits and that he may walk in everything that you love and despise everything that you hate and do what is good in your eyes. (IV 34-36)

To substantiate this argument, I will proceed as follows: Firstly, I will discuss reconstruction of “tests” by the editors in the *editio princeps*. Secondly, I will examine references for “tests” in the HB and Second Temple texts to demonstrate that the meaning has developed to reference suffering trials by the righteous elect at the hands of the ungodly according to God’s providential will. This argument continues the discussion begun in Section 4.1. Interpreted in this way, the speaker means to say that God purifies the elect from interior evil *through disciplines and tests* so that they walk rightly.

When Newsom wrote her monograph, the *editio princeps* did not exist. This new resource may assist in interpreting the psalm in IV 28-37, especially the phrase “your disciplines” (יִסּוּרִיךָ, l. 34). In Newsom’s reconstruction of the Hebrew text, she has a blank in l. 34 following “your disciplines,” i.e. square brackets containing ellipses [. . .]. I set out below l. 34 from both Newsom’s work and the *editio princeps*:

Newsom¹⁵⁵

[תמ[שכהו מחטוא לך ול[הש]יב לו ענותו ביסוריך ובנס[. . .]ה לבו]

[. . . you draw] him back from sinning against you. And in order [to restore] to him his humility through your disciplines and through [. . .] his heart. *vacat*

editio princeps¹⁵⁶

[ת[חשכהו מחטוא לך ול־ב לו ענותו ביסוריך ובנס[וייך חזק]תה לבו]

[you] draw him back from sinning against you. And in order to *b* to him his humility through your disciplines and through [your] tes[ts] you have [strengthened] his heart

Where Newsom leaves a blank, the *editio princeps* reconstructs the Hebrew text with the phrase “your tests” (ובנס[וייך]).

155. Labeled line 22 in Newsom, *Self*, 263, 264.

156. *DJD* 40, 63, 74.

Firstly, this reconstruction is not novel. Holm-Nielsen translates the text as “your testings” with such certainty that he did not feel compelled to offer a textual note.¹⁵⁷ Further, Holm-Nielsen translates “your disciplines” as “Thy chastenings” indicating he reads the text to mean that *both* terms, “disciplines” and “tests,” refer to God’s providential refinements.

Secondly, a textual note in the *editio princeps* lists five references as support for their reconstruction of “and through your tests” (ובנס[וייך]; cf. Sir 33:1, 44:20; 1QS I 18; 4Q504 1-2 v 18, VI 7; 4Q215a 1 ii 3; 4Q525 5 3.)¹⁵⁸ Neither “test” (נִסִּי)¹⁵⁹ nor “discipline” (יִסּוּר)¹⁶⁰ occurs elsewhere in the *Hodayot*, but examination of the term “test” within the HB and DSS demonstrates that it consistently refers to suffering. Next, I will examine parallels for “test” to substantiate my argument.

Sirach’s use of πειρασμός clarifies 1QH^a IV 34. Sir 33:1 and 44:20, are listed as parallels for נִסִּי “test” (VI 34) because of their use of the term πειρασμός (“test, trial”). The first parallel, Sir 33:1, says “No evil will befall the one who fears the Lord, but in trials (πειρασμός) such a one will be rescued again and again.” The second parallel, Sir 44:20, also speaks of a πειρασμός, namely Abraham’s “testing” (πειρασμός) and being found faithful. A third passage, Sirach 2:1-9, not listed in the *editio princeps*, illustrates Ben Sira’s use of πειρασμός and was discussed in section 4.1. These passages demonstrate that in Sirach “tests” stem from persecution by the ungodly, result in “undeserved” suffering, are described metaphorically as a “furnace,” and demonstrate the genuineness of faith.

4Q504 1-2 v 18, a reference to 1QH^a IV 34, sits in a small collection of prayers commonly called *The Words of the Luminaries/Heavenly Lights*. It indicates that “tests” (נִסִּי, plural) come from “the wrath of the oppressor” (ונסויים בהמת המציק).

157. This absence by Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 247 is striking. His work is a detailed reconstruction and translation of the text and in many respects a compendium of textual notes.

158. *DJD* 40, 71.

159. *DJD* 40, 373.

160. I note that the concordance of *DJD* 40, 351 defines יִסּוּר as “lesson, correction by suffering.”

Here, in a liturgical context like the *Hodayot*, “tests” (נִסִּי) refer to oppression by someone(s) external to the community.¹⁶¹ Similar to Sirach, the “tests” are metaphorically likened to a “furnace” through use of the term “heat” (חֶמֶה). I note that here, as in the *Hodayot*, the “tests” come from God and result in the community being able to “walk” according to God’s precepts (4Q504 1-2 v 20)!

4Q504 VI 7, from the same collection of prayers, provides an even clearer parallel. In this passage, the speaker explicitly states that God sent enemies against the community (l. 8). Moreover, the community’s heart has been humbled (l. 5) as a result of the “tests” (נִסִּי) sent from God for their rebellious behavior (l. 6). In this context, the oppressed community is described as “afflicted” (עֲנִי, l. 12). In two other *Hodayot* passages I will examine later (VI 15; XIII 15, 16), the speaker refers to his community as “afflicted” (עֲנִי) due to external oppressors; moreover, he refers to trials metaphorically as a “furnace” and “crucible” which refine the speaker from sin.

In 4Q215 1 ii 3, “test” (נִסִּי) stands in a context referring not only to external oppression but also to an eschatological period in which God will refine his chosen ones. In addition, the preceding line (l. 2) may contain a quote/allusion to Isa 48:10. The reconstructed text כֹּר [עוֹן] reads “furnace of affliction.” As I discussed earlier, Isaiah utilizes this phrase to describe Israel’s punishment in exile: “See, I have refined (MT צִרֵּי) you, but not like silver; I have tested you *in the furnace of affliction* (MT, בְּכֹר עֲנִי).”¹⁶² In 4Q215 1 ii 3, then, “test” (נִסִּי) is closely associated with the metallurgy metaphor and the freighted term כֹּר (“furnace”) used throughout the HB and EJL for suffering trials.

So then, נִסִּי (“tests”): (1) ultimately come from God; (2) arise from persecution by the ungodly; and (3) result in suffering for God’s people. Moreover, contexts referring to נִסִּי (“tests”) are described as a “furnace” (MT כֹּר); LXX, κάμνος for the “afflicted” (עֲנִי). As I will demonstrate later (V 12-VI 33; XIII 7-21),

161. The phrase may be an allusion to Isa 51:13 [2x]. God comforts Israel that the “wrath of the oppressor” (חֶמֶת הַמַּצִּיק) will come to nothing.

162. I note that the LXX translates “furnace” (כֹּר) as κάμνος.

the *Hodayot* similarly employs these terms and concepts in contexts of suffering caused by external persecution. The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that the use of “tests” in the HB and EJL indicates that “tests” (נִסִּי) in IV 34 most likely refers to suffering caused by external persecution. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that “tests” means the same in IV 34 as well. From this, I conclude that Newsom’s argument for interpreting the moral discourse (IV 29-37) as referring *exclusively* to the praxis of the community and its “disciplines” should be reconsidered.

One further item bears on interpretation of “disciplines” and “tests” and it occurs in the preceding psalm (IV 21-27). Line 21 includes the freighted term מַעֲרִי (“crucible, test”). Text critical notes within the *editio princeps* indicate that restoration of this term is “suggested by the use of the same image of the furnace” in VI 15 and in XIII 18 where the term (מַעֲרִי) also occurs.¹⁶³ In IV 21, the speaker opens the psalm by blessing God for something that “did not overtake them in the crucible.” As discussed in section 4.1, and as I will demonstrate below (V 12-VI 33; XIII 7-21), “crucible” is a metaphor for suffering persecution by external opponents. IV 21-27 revolves around the speaker’s thankfulness for God’s abundant compassion (l. 23) in removing his transgressions (ll. 24, 27). Of note, then, is the speaker’s declaration of being redeemed from sin, yet suffering as though in a “crucible.” This sets the stage for IV 29-37 in which “disciplines” and “tests” for God’s forgiven elect cause suffering that results in a cessation of sinning.

Lastly, I return to how “tests” fits within the discourse and theology of IV 29-37. Recognizing that the speaker has foregrounded God’s sovereignty highlights the fact that any “disciplines” and “tests” which come upon the speaker (and the community) are, ultimately, from God’s hand. The speaker indicates that through “insight” (l. 33) he knows that God has granted to him both good and evil spirits for *all* the spirits within him come from God (l. 29). But the speaker is apparently not

163. An alternate restoration, “flame, blade” (שֶׁלֶבֶת), as discussed in *DJD* 40, 68 is consonant with my argument. This meaning also carries forward the furnace and metallurgy imagery found in VI and XIII and in the HB and EJL.

troubled by this. Issues of theodicy are far from his mind. Why? Because God, whom the speaker praises, is “righteous,” a designation he applies to God three times within nine lines (ll. 29, 32 [2x]). It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that “tests” and “disciplines” come from God’s “strong right hand” (l. 30) and are harmonious with God’s righteous character. The speaker recognizes that all suffering is ultimately designed by a righteous God to serve His righteous will. What then does the speaker view as God’s will for the “chosen” (l. 33)? Nothing less than a sinless life. This is core to the speaker’s view of God’s will for him: God determines the way of the chosen (l. 33) in order to “draw him back from sinning against you” (l. 34), and to [prevent]¹⁶⁴ “your servant from sinning against you and from stumbling in all matters of your will” (l. 35). Therefore, the speaker prayerfully entreats God to “strengthen his loins to stand against the spirits” (l. 35) so “that he may walk in everything that you love and despise everything that you hate and do what is good in your eyes” (l. 36).

The foregoing analysis indicates that the speaker is concerned with the interior problem of evil spirits causing sinful behavior; moreover, the speaker views suffering caused by “tests” and “disciplines” as appointed by God for the purpose of conquering evil spirits so that the elect may walk rightly and not sin. This analysis confirms Holm-Nielsen’s earlier conclusion:

God, Himself, shapes destiny as He will, and He prevents in His wisdom the elect from sinning (21b-22a); through chastisement (22b), God will prevent the psalmist from falling away and will effect a life in accordance with His will (23-24).¹⁶⁵

It is to be noted in Holm-Nielsen’s summary that sectarian “disciplines” are not in view; however, communal “disciplines” are not excluded *a priori* nor are such sectarian “disciplines” mutually exclusive from “tests” through external persecutions. Both “disciplines” as internal communal practices as well as “tests” from external opponents could, conceivably, be in view. Yet, as Newsom herself acknowledges, the

164. In agreement with *DSSSE*, 149 that “prevent” (l. 1) fits the theme and flow of thought. Note however the the *editio princeps* indicates a blank in the Hebrew text.

165. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 247.

psalm, and the *Hodayot* in general, contain “little overt reference to the community and its significance.”¹⁶⁶

The discussion so far demonstrates that “tests” in the HB and in EYL relate to suffering, and over time, developed in meaning to include suffering by the righteous caused by external persecution according to God’s will. In this psalm, then, *both* “your disciplines” and “your tests” are best understood as suffering caused by external persecution which prevents the elect from sinning. This reading is supported by analysis of two other psalms in which this theme is seen.

4.4.2 1QH^a V 12 - VI 33

Recognizing that a single psalm extends from column V 12 - VI 33 aids in connecting the speaker’s running discussion regarding the interior plight of humanity and God’s merciful intervention on behalf of the elect.¹⁶⁷ I will be paying particular attention to the section beginning at the first full sentence in V 27 and running through VI 33.¹⁶⁸

The speaker describes the presence of good and evil spirits within him (V 30-36; VI 22-23) which God “determined” (l. 23). As in the previous two psalms (IV 21-27, 29-37), the speaker once again foregrounds God’s sovereignty. In addition, the speaker highlights God’s atemporality (V 29-30) and mysterious apportioning of all things (V 28, 30), emphasizing the contrast between God and man. Highlighting the sinfulness of humankind from birth, he writes the “one born of woman” (V 31) is “constructed of dust and kneaded with water” (V 32). Human existence is the “source of impurity,” ruled from birth by “a perverted spirit” (V 32).

In such light, lament is justifiable; however, the speaker offers a thanksgiving to God (V 33f.) because, out of God’s “goodness” (כֶּחֶם, l. 33) and abundant “mercy”

166. Newsom, *Self*, 268.

167. The first eleven lines of VI are lost, but due to similarity in vocabulary and topics as well as length of the strophes, editors conclude that a psalm runs from V 12 to VI 33. See, *DJD* 40, 78, 89.

168. *DJD* 40, 85–86, 95–96.

(רחמים, l. 34), a person can be “righteous” (צדק, l. 34). Access to divine insights “by means of the spirit that you have given me” provides the speaker with this knowledge (V 36). The speaker says that God has given him “insight” into the division of humankind, writing God “cast (the lot) for them between good and evil” and “determined their recompense” (VI 23) .

With this interior battle with evil spirits in view, the speaker’s discussion of the elect (VI 13-15) as “purified” (זקק) by “affliction” (עָנִי) and “refined” (ברר) in a “crucible” (מַעֲרֵף) raises the question of the timing of purification and refinement. Is the speaker referring to final, eschatological judgment and final cleansing of evil spirits? This is certainly the desired outcome. The speaker hopes to “obtain an inheritance” and “exist in a council of holiness for eternal generations” (VI 15). At that time, says the speaker, “all injustice and wickedness you [God] will destroy forever, and your [God’s] righteousness will be revealed in the sight of all your [God’s] creatures” (VI 26-27).

Yet, the speaker is ever cognizant of his *current* behavior in the intervening period. He desires to “not rebel against your [God’s] command” (VI 25) or “do anything evil in your [God’s] sight” (VI 29). Conquering of evil spirits and present behavior weigh heavily on the speaker. In this light, I argue purification and refining language in VI 14-15 refers to *present* subjugation of evil spirits so that the speaker will cease from sinning. To indicate this the speaker links “affliction” and “crucible” with present conduct prior to final judgment. He writes, “those purified by affliction, and those refined in the crucible” are those “who persevere still to the time of your judgments, and watch for your salvation” (VI 14-15). The eschaton has yet to appear, and while the faithful await God’s final judgment, they are being “purified” and “refined” through some type of “affliction” (עָנִי) and “crucible” (מַעֲרֵף) so that they “may do justice in the world” (VI 16-17). The next psalm, I will show, clearly identifies “affliction” and “crucible” with suffering from persecution by the ungodly with the result that the righteous are “refined” and “purified” of internal evil spirits leading to right conduct.

4.4.3 1QH^a XIII 7-21

The psalm in XIII 7-21 ties together elements identified in the aforementioned psalms. I highlight salient elements occurring here present in previous psalms: firstly, the speaker recognizes his sinful “inclination” (l. 8) caused by evil spirit(s) within him;¹⁶⁹ secondly, suffering is described metaphorically as a “furnace” (כּוּר) and “crucible” (מַעֲרֵף); thirdly, God sovereignly causes the “furnace” and “crucible” (l. 18); and, fourthly a link between the “furnace”/“crucible” and “purity” (l. 18).

This psalm provides additional information as well as links these elements together in a manner strongly implied in the aforementioned psalms: firstly, persecution of the speaker (“I”) by outsiders (l. 19); secondly, the persecution as primarily verbal in nature (ll. 15, 16, 19); thirdly, this persecution causes the speaker to suffer “distress” and “bitterness” in his soul (l. 14-15); and, fourthly, the result of the “furnace” and “crucible” is that the speaker is “refined” for “sevenfold purity” (l. 18).¹⁷⁰ As I have shown, “purity,” in the speaker’s discourse, is inseparable from present behavior, linked in turn with conquering evil interior spirits.

I draw attention to l. 18 in which the speaker refers to a “furnace” (כּוּר) and a “crucible” (מַעֲרֵף) brought on by God and resulting in “sevenfold purity.” Once again, God’s sovereignty comes to the foreground. God, says the speaker, “brought him into the furnace [and] crucible.” God, ultimately, has enacted the suffering even though its immediate source is “mortals” (l. 13). Persecution causes the speaker to “cry out” from distress (ll. 14, 15). He laments that their never ending “torments . . . crush [his] soul”

169. I note that “inclination” refers to the speaker’s recognition of the “desires” resident within his “flesh.”

170. That XIII 7-21 is a “Teacher-of-Righteousness” psalm due to the speaker’s view that God’s “law” (תּוֹרָה) is given, and hidden, in him (l. 13), see Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 64, 65. For a list of scholars arguing that XIII 7-21 is a “Teacher Psalm,” see Lange, *Weisheit*, 201. Lichtenberger argues, the speaker’s view of himself as containing and conveying the covenant, a high-priestly role, assures his protection from God’s judgment, thus suffering has present, not eschatological, purificatory effects. I agree. Whether the psalm is a “Teacher” or “community” psalm does not impact this study. The psalm indicates within EJL this *type* of suffering theology.

(ll. 19). Likening the mouths of his opponents to the mouths of lions (ll. 11-16, 20-21), the speaker writes their tongues are “like a sword” (ll. 12, 15-17), their scheming is like “snake venom” and “robbers” (l. 12), and they are “the wicked” who “rushed against [him] with their torments” (l. 19). This, then, is the context and meaning behind the speaker’s metaphorical use of “furnace” (כור) and “crucible” (מערר), namely verbal harassment and revilement by those outside the community.

Kittel rightly notes the “apocalyptic thought and expectations” of the psalm and its similarity to stories in Daniel, specifically in the metaphorical depiction of opponents as lions (l. 18). However, Kittel incorrectly views Malachi as the background to the furnace/refining imagery.¹⁷¹ While Malachi contains similar “furnace” language, Kittel has erred in two respects. Firstly, she failed to keep the speaker’s concern for his present behavior in view and interprets the psalm as referring exclusively to final judgment in which the “dross is washed away, and the poet’s salvation is complete.”¹⁷² While final judgment is certainly on the horizon, present purity and sinlessness is most certainly foregrounded. As in VI 14-16, recognition of God’s preservation in the midst of oppression as well as final salvation leads the speaker to praise God. Secondly, as discussed above, the furnace/refining imagery of Malachi does not correlate with the speaker’s view of his own status before God. Unlike disobedient Israel in Malachi, the speaker is not worshipping other gods nor in need of repentance. The speaker acknowledges his sin and God’s graciousness to him, expressing thankfulness for God’s gracious mercy in election and forgiveness of his sin.¹⁷³ Therefore, while the speaker possesses evil spirits and is in need of refining, he is nevertheless currently in right standing with God. It is inconceivable that the speaker would have identified himself with stiff-necked Israel. Kittel is correct in discerning an apocalyptic tone in which the speaker expects present oppression to be removed in the

171. Kittel, *Hymns*, 96.

172. *Ibid.*, 97.

173. Salvation, writes Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 63 is “by divine grace and not by man’s acts of righteousness.” See also, Kittel, *Hymns*, 97.

final, coming, eschatological judgment of God. However, Kittel has not recognized the way in which the *Hodayot* connects present adversity, the “crucible” and “furnace” at the hands of the ungodly, as ultimately originating from God’s righteous will. Through “tests,” the elect are *presently* being refined by God, like gold in the furnace, for final salvation.

Holm-Nielsen, on the other hand, rightly draws this out in his summary of the psalm. He notes the explicit way in which the speaker has woven together his suffering, sin, purification, and God’s sovereignty:

God has brought him into the midst of adversaries, who are like wild beasts and pitiless hunters . . . God has not forsaken him in afflictions, . . . indeed, God has, in a wonderful way, for the sake of His own power, brought purification through afflictions (17b-18).¹⁷⁴

Further, Holm-Nielsen addresses the question of what the speaker means in l. 18 by “sevenfold purity”:

it cannot be excluded, however, that it contains an idea of purification through suffering. This thought, which has its origin in the O.T., is a popular motive in the Late Jewish wisdom poetry, considered both individually and collectively . . . In the N.T., as well, the thought appears in Heb 12:4 ff., 1 Pet 1:6-7, 4:12.¹⁷⁵

In light of the analysis of the other *Hodayot* psalms, purification through suffering refers to purification from interior evil so that the elect may cease from sinning.

Therefore, I would add 1 Peter 4:1 to Holm-Nielsen’s list of references.

4.5 Concluding Remarks on the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter

The chapter has demonstrated that the *Hodayot* provides a robust backdrop for interpreting 1 Peter. The *Hodayot* provides an antecedent to 1 Peter’s hermeneutical use of the HB, including an affinity for quoting the book of Isaiah to identify the speaker’s community as God’s elect, “end-of-days” people. Moreover, the *Hodayot* provides a backdrop to key ideas in 1 Peter, i.e. a negative view of the “flesh” despite

174. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 91.

175. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 96 n. 42.

God's merciful and unmerited redemption, an identity as God's elect temple-community undergoing persecution, and an emphasis on imminent judgment when future salvation will be realized. These parallels indicate a similar cognitive milieu representing similar traditions in Second Temple Judaism.¹⁷⁶ This invited a closer reading of the *Hodayot's* view of suffering.

In examination of three psalms of the *Hodayot*, I demonstrated that the *Hodayot* provides an antecedent for 1 Peter's view of suffering of the elect as: (1) originating in God's sovereign will, (2) arising from external persecution, and (3) being "undeserved" (i.e., suffering is not caused by the sins of the elect). As I discussed, the *Hodayot's* view of suffering combines many elements from the HB and EJL, but also the *Hodayot* represents a development in the interpretation of suffering.

In the *Hodayot*, unjust suffering by the elect may become, in God's economy, an instrument that "enables" the elect to conquer their sinful "flesh" so that the elect may live rightly. That is to say unjust suffering results in the elect gaining the ability to conquer interior, evil inclinations. The *Hodayot*, then, may provide the first evidence of the idea that suffering in the flesh conquers evil in the flesh. In this, the *Hodayot* represents another development in the meaning of "tests" in EJL. Moreover, the *Hodayot* presents a heretofore unknown reflection on the function of human suffering within EJL. This view of suffering resonates powerfully with 1 Peter. It represents a significant antecedent to the sixth type of suffering identified in the last chapter and corroborates my reading of 1 Peter 2:11 and 4:1.

176. Positing contact with the sect at Qumran or the *Hodayot* by the author of 1 Peter is unnecessary. As Collins, *Beyond*, 209–10 cogently demonstrates, the Essene sect included two orders, the "celibate" order at Qumran and the "marrying" order with multiple settlements throughout Israel and beyond. This correlates with accounts by Philo and Josephus. Further, Collins argues it is "unlikely that all the scrolls found at Qumran were composed or copied at the site," but rather "were brought to Qumran for safekeeping from various Essene settlements." Therefore, the *ideas* represented within the *Hodayot* were likely disseminated throughout Israel and represent a cognitive milieu influencing the author of 1 Peter. A similar point is made by Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 560 n. 17 regarding parallels between *1 En.* 108 and 1 Peter. Parallels indicate, I argue, a pattern of thought shared by some within Judaism, and then, also within Christianity.

In 1 Peter's theology, entrusting oneself to God in the midst of unjust persecution (suffering) conquers "desires of the flesh" (evil inclinations) that wage a war against the soul (2:11). The result is that "the one who suffers in flesh has ceased from sin" (ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας, 4:1) and may live according to the will of God (4:2). The *Hodayot* may provide antecedents to 1 Peter's view that "whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin" (4:1b). In sum, the *Hodayot* throws light on 1 Peter in which submitting to unjust suffering serves a significant, and positive, role in moral development.

CHAPTER 5

COLOSSIANS: NEW EXISTENCE AND RIGHTEOUS LIVING

Chapter Overview

This chapter seeks to detail the author of Colossians' understanding of the new existence and the means to live rightly. As in the chapter on 1 Peter, I will do so by attending to the four inter-related questions set out on p.9. The chapter will proceed as follows: In section 5.1, I raise the question why the author refutes the opponents in the manner that he does. In section 5.2, I analyze the universal problems facing humankind which, according to the author, the Christ-event addresses. To grasp these problems, it is critical, I argue, to map the author's worldview in which malevolent angelic powers threatened humanity. This provides the lens through which to view the "flesh" of the elect before and after faith in Christ and lays the foundation for discussing the means to live rightly. In section 5.3, I will briefly touch on the very different hermeneutic employed by the Colossian author than that of the author of 1 Peter. In section 5.4, I discuss the present effects of the Christ-event: redemption from sins (5.4.1), rescue from the powers (5.4.2), indwelling of Christ (5.4.3), removal of the "flesh" (5.4.4), membership as the body of Christ (5.4.5), and transfer into Christ's kingdom (5.4.6). With the new existence in hand, I will detail in section 5.6 the centrality to the author of living rightly. In section 5.7, I discuss the author's emphasis on growth in understanding of the "mystery," Christ, in order to live rightly. Overall, I will show for Colossians that the author's worldview, language, and theology shares many affinities with Jewish sapiential and apocalyptic literature. Summarizing the analysis will lead to examination of *4QInstruction* in Chapter 6 where I will proceed to locate antecedents for such views.

5.1 Recipient Context and Refuting Teaching οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν

As I discussed in chapter one, scholarship is in almost unanimous agreement that the author of Colossians writes to correct teaching and prescriptions proffered by unnamed opponents.¹ Determining the precise background of the opponent's teaching remains elusive. Nevertheless, all but a few scholars agree that it is heavily indebted to patterns of thought in EJJ. This study does not hinge on precisely determining the background of the opponent's teaching, but the recipients' context is hardly unimportant. The theological areas addressed by the author may be, to some degree, in response to erroneous teaching that he wishes to correct. However, the author could address these issues, presumably, in a variety of different ways. That is to say, the author had choices in hermeneutics, rhetorical style, theological emphases, and the like. The epistle reflects the author's choices, and thereby, the cognitive structures of the author. With this in mind, I now turn to examine three problems, which according to the author, plague all humanity.

5.2 Universal Problem (ποτέ)

According to the author, humankind faces at least three intractable and deadly problems: "sins," the "flesh," and the "powers." The author reflects on these problems to demonstrate the sufficiency of the Christ-event, and thus, the folly of the opponent's teaching. Examination of these provides insights into the author's worldview and understanding of the new existence.

5.2.1 The Problem of "Sins" (1:14, 21; cf. "Trespases," 2:13 [2x]; 3:7)

"Sins" (ἁμαρτίαι) and "trespases" (παράπτωματα) are a central issue in Colossians.

Like the author of 1 Peter, who changes from the second person plural “your” (ὁμεῖς) to the first person plural “our” (ἡμεῖς) when describing whose “sins” Christ bore, the author of Colossians indicates he too shares in the need for remission of “sins” (1:14) and forgiveness for “trespasses” (2:13). The epistle’s shift is theologically significant on at least two fronts. Firstly, it indicates that the Jewish author, an apostle (1:1, 25; 4:18), shares in condemnation with the predominantly Gentile recipients.² All humanity shares in the intractable problem of “sins.”

Secondly, the severity of the problem of “sins” required Christ’s death on the cross (1:22; 2:14), and, absent this solution, the recipients face the coming “wrath of God” (ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, 3:6). While reference to God’s judgment is muted in comparison with 1 Peter, it nevertheless serves to undergird ethical exhortations. For example, slaves and earthly “masters” (κύριοι), are reminded that ultimately all will receive either “the reward of inheritance” (3:24) or judgment for wrong-doings (3:25-4:1) from their heavenly κύριος.³ If “sins” remain, God’s wrath is assured. But what is the root cause of “sins”?

5.2.2 The Problem of the σὰρξ (2:11, 13, 18, 23)

Although Colossians, like 1 Peter, does not elaborate on the etiology of “sins,” the author indicates that the presence of the σὰρξ (“flesh”), by its negative influence, leads humanity to commit “sins.” To substantiate this, it is necessary to recognize the different ways in which the author of Colossians uses the term σὰρξ.

The author employs the term σὰρξ seven times.⁴ Context determines its meaning.⁵ “Flesh” can have a neutral meaning if used with reference to physical

1. See chapter two, section 2.1.2, for an overview of proposed backgrounds.

2. The author’s self identification results in an *emic* perspective of Judaism.

3. Correctly emphasizing the “not-yet” aspects in Colossians, see Still, “Eschatology,” 129.

4. Cf. Col 1:22, 24; 2:1, 5, 11, 13, 18, 23; 3:22.

5. See A. Sand, “σὰρξ,” *EDNT* 3:230–31: (1) a. bodily substance, b. the human body, c. humanity in whole, d. humanity in the partial sense of Israel; (2) “earthly and natural existence and then to the *merely* worldly existence of human beings (κατὰ σάρκα in combination with a vb.); (3)

existence. For example in 1:22, σάρξ refers to Christ's "body of flesh," and in 1:24 the author speaks of his own suffering as "in my flesh."⁶ The term σάρξ is neutral in 3:22 in reference to masters who are κατὰ σάρκα, i.e. human masters who are part of the "earthly" realm. Further, σάρξ, as human existence, is not inherently sinful for Christ, as God (1:19), existed on earth "in his fleshly body" (ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, 1:22).⁷ Since all humanity as σάρξ suffers from "evil desires" (ἐπιθυμία, 3:5), physical existence contains within it the potentiality of sinning. This view of σάρξ is similar to the one identified in 1 Peter.⁸

However, the author of Colossians also utilizes σάρξ negatively, implying a theological understanding in which mankind is subject to the power of sin, a usage and understanding not found in 1 Peter.⁹ "Flesh," in this sense, may refer to a negative power or "realm" contrary to God's will, closely associated with the "earthly" realm.¹⁰ Working in coordination with the "authority of darkness" and the "powers," the σάρξ leads humankind to commit transgressions against God (cf. 3:7). To exist in the σάρξ is to exist in a permanent state of spiritual "death" (νεκρός, 2:13), i.e. unholy, full of blame (1:22), and deserving of God's wrath (3:6).¹¹ The negative σάρξ, like "the authority of darkness" (1:13), is a power in its own right with the capacity to lead humankind astray, a fact demonstrated by its usage in 2:11, 13, 18, 23.¹² As further

"Finally, and esp. in Paul, σάρξ implies a theological understanding of mankind subject to the power of sin."

6. Cf. 2:1, "my face ἐν σαρκί"; 2:5, "I am absent τῇ σαρκί."

7. Cf. 1:20, Christ's shed "blood" (αἷμα) indicates physical σάρξ. Yet, Christ is also God (Col 1:15-20). Based on the HB's concept of God, Christ is, therefore, without sin.

8. E.g. 1 Pet 2:11, the σάρξ contains "evil desires" (ἐπιθυμίαι, 1 Pet 1:14; 2:11; 4:2, 3).

9. See Sand, *EDNT* 3:231 on the negative σάρξ within the undisputed Pauline epistles.

10. Sumney, *Colossians*, 168.

11. Cf. The polar opposites of the recipients after atonement, e.g. ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους.

12. See exegesis below. Further, Arnold, *Ephesians*, 133 notes that in Eph 2:3 and in Col 2:13, 18, 23, σάρξ "carries the Pauline anthropological sense of σάρξ as the subject of sin. . . . [σάρξ] is distinguished from the demonic 'powers' in so far as it is not just a power alien to man, but it belongs to man himself. . . . [There are] . . . two different kinds of 'powers,' one internal with respect to man and the other external, but both intent on exerting their dominion over man in this present age."

discussion will show, both the elect and “the sons of disobedience” have an existence in the fleshly σὰρξ, but the elect have “died” (2:20; 3:3) to the negative σὰρξ.

5.2.3 The Problem of the Powers (1:13, 16; 2:8, 10, 15, 20)

In addition to “sins” and the negative σάρξ, humankind faces the threat posed by the “powers.” The author describes a “cosmos” teeming with things “seen and unseen” (τὰ ὄρατα καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα) “in the heavens and on the earth” (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 1:16).¹³ The significance of things “unseen” (henceforth called “powers”) within the author’s worldview, theology, and understanding of the new existence is reflected in the number of occurrences of these terms in Colossians (more than any other NT epistle).¹⁴ As effective communication necessitates a “mutual cognitive environment,” it is imperative to grasp the cultural milieu within which these “power” terms were written, heard and read.¹⁵ How the “powers” function in the author’s reflection on the Christ-event and the new existence depends, for example, on grasping the author’s spatial and cosmic dualism.¹⁶ I argue that anthropology and cosmology are inextricably intertwined and must be considered together.¹⁷

5.2.3.1 Spatial and Cosmic Dualism in the HB and EJJ

The cosmic geography of the HB, like that of ANE literature, technically includes three tiers, but theologically, it is a two-tier cosmos.¹⁸ In the HB, everything under “heaven”

13. This view corresponds to the “undisputed” Pauline epistles, see Reid, “Principalities,” 747.

14. E.g., ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους (1:13); θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι (1:16); πᾶσα ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐξουσία (2:10); αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐξουσίαι (2:15); τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20).

15. Weber, “Tale,” 52–53.

16. Rightly, Edward Adams, “Cosmology,” 21 notes that “In the Old Testament, cosmological reflection serves a theological purpose.” So too in the NT. See also Walton, *Ancient*, 166.

17. The assertion by Engberg-Pedersen, “Material,” 188–89 that “Paul’s anthropology cannot be separated from his cosmology” holds true in Colossians.

18. Gammie, “Dualism,” 360–62.

is considered on the “earth” (e.g., Gen 6:17), and these two tiers are effectively kept separate by God.¹⁹ Genesis recounts God’s judgment on the people for attempting to transcend this cosmic barrier and enter the “heavens” (שָׁמַיִם, MT; οὐρανός, LXX, Gen 11:4): the Lord “came down” (יָרַד, MT; καταβαίνω, LXX, Gen 11:5) from heaven and scattered the people over the face of the “earth” (אֶרֶץ, MT; γῆ, LXX Gen 11:8).

Wisdom literature, likewise, emphasizes the earth-bound nature of humanity and heaven “is viewed by Qoheleth as a particular, if not the sole, habitation of God.”²⁰ The book of Job exemplifies the spatial, and cosmic, dualism of the HB in which the LORD dwells in heaven and “Satan” (שָׂטָן, MT; διάβολος, LXX) resides on the earth.²¹ Gammie rightly concludes that “without acknowledging the profound debt of the book to the conception of a heaven-earth (i.e., spatial) dualism, the modern interpreter can scarcely claim to have reached an accurate assessment of the thought-world of the original authors.”²²

EJL depicts the κόσμος similarly: God inhabits the “heavens,” and the evil powers inhabit the “earth.”²³ During the Hellenistic period though, EJL exhibits an increased interest in the hierarchy and function of angelic beings, including the etiology of evil angelic beings.²⁴ This parallels a heightened “division of the world (κόσμος) and of humanity into two opposing forces of good and evil, darkness and light.”²⁵ For example, in the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 1-36), the author provides an etiology for

19. Cf. the bipartite cosmos in Gen 28:12.

20. Pointing to Ecclesiastes, Gammie, “Dualism,” 363 notes the “parallel expressions ‘under heaven’ (1:13; 2:3; 3: 1) and ‘on earth’ (5:2; 7:20; 8:16).”

21. E.g. Job 1:7, Satan “going to and fro on the earth. Cf. Deut 26:15; 1 Sam 2:10; 2 Chron 6:33; 7:14; Psa 102:19; Eccl 5:2; Isa 14:12; Jer 10:11; Amos 9:6; Zech 3:1-2.

22. Gammie, “Dualism,” 364.

23. Cf. 1 En. 1-36; 37-71; 72-82; 2 En.; Apoc. Ab.; T. Levi; 3 Bar.; T. Abr.; and Apoc. Zeph. as cited in Sappington, *Revelation*, 57–58. See also, Gammie, “Dualism,” 366–72. In the fifteen Jewish apocalypses, Collins, “Morphology,” 9 notes that “the existence of another world beyond what is accessible to humanity by natural means is a constant element” in them all. See also, Collins, “Jewish,” 22–23, 26.

24. On this, Hengel, *Judaism*, 231–34. Further, Black, “Πᾶσαι,” 78 notes that the DSS provide “ample evidence of a similar highly developed angelology, on a cosmic scale, which goes far beyond the Old Testament.”

25. On cosmic dualism, see Frey, “Patterns,” 283.

“evil spirits” on the earth (*1 En.* 14:24-16:4).²⁶ In an expansion of Gen 6:2-4, the author relates God sending Enoch to angels fallen from heaven to declare His judgment upon them for leaving “the highest heaven” (*1 En.* 15:3) and impregnating human women, the offspring of whom are the “giants” (γίγαντες, *1 En.* 12:4). As in the HB, the cosmological barrier should not be transgressed.²⁷ The author recounts Enoch’s vision in which God’s judgment is proclaimed:

But now the giants, those who are born of spirits and flesh are mighty spirits upon the earth, and in the earth their dwelling will be. Evil spirits went out from their body, since they came from the higher places, and from the holy watchers -- the beginning of their creation and beginning of a foundation -- they will be called evil spirits. (*1 En.* 15:8-9)

According to Nickelsburg, the author of *Jubilees* draws from this account to explain demons inhabiting and ruling the earth.²⁸ In this second-century BCE Jewish text, the devil (a personal, spiritual being) and the evil spiritual beings which follow him figure prominently.²⁹ The devil is the head of the earthly kingdom, terrorizes the sons of Noah, and serves as the effective cause of evil on the earth (*Jub.* 10:7-11).³⁰ In Wisdom of Solomon, another Second Temple Jewish text,³¹ the devil functions as the origin of evil, corresponding to the serpent in Genesis (Wis 2:24).³² Charlesworth rightly concludes that in EJL “the region between heaven and earth seems to be almost cluttered by demons and angels.”³³

Some of the scrolls found at Qumran also exhibit spatial and cosmic dualism.³⁴

The term מַמְשָׁלָה (“kingdom, realm”) in the HB and Apocrypha corresponds to the

26. That in *1 En.* 14:24-16:4 “the freed spirits of the dead giants constitute a demonic realm, and “thus the author views life on this earth as the arena of demonic activity,” see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 270

27. Leading Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 271–72 to write, “the watchers have violated the distinction between the heavenly and earthly, the angelic and human (the eternal and the mortal) spheres.”

28. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 273. Cf. *Jub.* 5:1-5; 7:20ff.; 10-12.

29. On dating, see Sappington, *Revelation*, 38 nn. 4–6. For bibliography, see Evans, *Ancient*, 46.

30. See Sacchi and Short, *Jewish*, 224. Cf. *Jub.* 23:29; 40:9; 46:2; 50:5.

31. That Wisdom may reflect a line of development from the HB through Sirach, see Mack and Murphy, “Wisdom,” 384.

32. Sacchi and Short, *Jewish*, 226–27.

33. Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 66.

34. In agreement with Frey, “Patterns,” 277–78 that texts from Qumran are not uniform in dualistic thought.

Greek word ἐξουσία,³⁵ and the term מלכות (“kingdom,” “rule,” “reign”) is represented by the Greek word βασιλεία (“kingdom”).³⁶ Usage of ממשלה and מלכות in the DSS indicates a worldview in which the cosmos consists of two spheres or “kingdoms” inhabited by opposing authorities described in terms of “light/darkness.”³⁷ For example, ממשלה is used in conjunction with “Belial” (בליעל) to represent the “dominion of Belial,” a sphere of power within the earthly realm exercised by “Belial,” an evil angelic power (1QS I 23).³⁸ In the same way that “Belial” exists as a spiritual being on “earth,” angelic beings exist locally in the “heavenlies.” For example, in 4Q*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the “heavenlies” contain a myriad of angels and gods who worship the Most High God in a “kingdom, realm” (מלכות) described in terms of “perfect light” (באור אורתם, 4Q403 I I 45; 4Q403 I II 1).³⁹ The “heavens,” a part of the created order, are the “kingdom” within which the Most High God dwells along with his angelic host.⁴⁰ Therefore, the Hebrew equivalents to ἐξουσία and βασιλεία function to map out two discreet spheres, or “kingdoms,” which are under the authority, or “dominion,” of two antithetical powers, namely God and Belial.⁴¹

The spatial and cosmic dualism of the HB and EJJ is represented in the NT by an eschatological conflict between God, who exists spatially in “heaven,” and Satan,

35. Lohse, *Colossians*, 37.

36. See Lohse, *Colossians*, 37. Cf. Black, “Πᾶσαι,” 76.

37. Rightly, W. D. Davies, *Christian*, 159 concludes that the terminology for the forces of evil in Colossians “may be the same as those referred to in the scrolls,” as quoted in Wilson, *Colossians*, 116 n. 19. *Contra*, Black, “Πᾶσαι,” 78 who concludes that the angelologies in the Pauline and deuterio-Pauline epistles “appear to have no elements in common” with those in the DSS.

38. Cf. 1QS II 19; 1QM XIV 9; 4Q390 2 I 4; “Angel of darkness” (מלאך חושך, 1QS III 21.

39. Cf. 4Q400 I II 1; 4Q400 I II 3; 4Q400 2, 4; 4Q401 14 I 6; 4Q403 I II 10; 4Q405 23 II 11.

40. That “the very lofty throne of God [Isa 6:1; *I En.* 14:18; Ps-Philo, *Bib. Ant.* 12:8] is situated in the highest of the heavens [*Ap. Abr.* 19:4; *2 En.* 20-22], or even ‘above the heavens’ [Psa 8:1; 57:5, 11; 108:5; 113:4; cf. Isa 66:1; *I En.* 84:2]”, see Bauckham, “‘Most High,’” 48–49, 382–83.

41. Thus, Aletti, *Colossians*, 81 cites *Jos. Asen.* 15:13; 1QS 1,18.23-24; 2,5.19; 1QM 1,11; 14,9; 17,5-6, as evidence within EJJ of the pervasive concept of two “spheres,” characterized by light and darkness, that of God and of evil, in constant opposition to one another. Such evidence strongly refutes the view of Bornkamm, “Hoffnung,” 59 who interprets the Colossian author’s language as “Kosmisch-Sphärische” representing the language of “gnostischen Mythologomena.”

who resides on “earth.”⁴² Satan and evil spirits possess ἐξουσία (“authority”), but only within the ἐξουσία (“domain”) of the “earth.”⁴³ Thus, Jesus refers to his imminent crucifixion as the “hour” which belongs to “the power of darkness” (ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτούς, Luke 22:53), an epithet for Satan synonymous with “the ruler of the world” (ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων, John 14:30). Jesus’ casting out “demons” (δαιμόνια) that come from “Beelzebul, the ruler of the demons” (Matt 12:24ff.) highlights this cosmic conflagration and demonstrates the present reality of God’s kingdom (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) breaking into Satan’s “kingdom” (βασιλεία, Matt 12:26-28). Similarly, in a speech in Acts the Apostle Paul explains his commissioning as a servant and witness of Christ in terms of a rescue mission, i.e. so that Gentiles may turn from darkness to light and from “the power of Satan” (τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Σατανᾶ) to God (Acts 26:18). Finally, Paul’s imagery of believers as “light” and “unbelievers” (ἄπιστοι) as “darkness” indicates that a person is either part of Christ and his kingdom or associated with “Beliar” (Βελιάρ, 2 Cor 6:15).⁴⁴

In summary, the spatial dualism of the HB is intensified in EJL alongside an expansion of angelologies and development in cosmic dualism.⁴⁵ I will discuss possible causes for this development in the next chapter on *4QInstruction*. Here, I note the prevalence and function of spatial dualism. Rightly, Arnold explains that in antiquity, the earth “was regarded as the dwelling place of evil spirits,”⁴⁶ a view held within both the Hellenistic world and within Judaism.⁴⁷ This, then, is the backcloth to the

42. On HB cosmology in NT, see Edward Adams, “Cosmology,” 27. That “the heavenlies” were understood materially and locally in EJL and by Paul, see Lincoln, “Heavenlies,” 469–70, 476, 479. Cf. 2 Cor 12:2, reflecting perhaps 1 Kings 8:27 (cf. 2 Chron 6:25; Neh 9:6). On the “third heaven” in Judaism see Schürer, Géza, and Millar, *History*, 747.

43. E.g., Satan’s ἐξουσία over earthly kingdoms (Luke 4:5-6).

44. Βελιάρ, a variant spelling of Βελιάλ (“Satan”), occurs no where else in the NT. For “Satan” (Σατανᾶς), as Christ’s/Paul’s/believers’ adversary, cf. Rom 16:20; 1 Cor 5:5; 7:5; 2 Cor 2:11; 11:14; 12:7; 1 Thess 2:18; 2 Thess 2:9; 1 Tim 1:20; 5:15.

45. See R. Meyer, “σάρξ,” *TDNT* 7:119 that Second Temple Jewish literature evinces development such that the distinction between God and σάρξ is increasingly heightened, a development coinciding with heightened cosmological dualism.

46. See Arnold, *Ephesians*, 60 for examples from 2nd-4th century C.E. Greek papyri.

47. On the prevalence of the practice of magic to control the spirits, see Aune, *Apocalypticism*, 368–401. See also, Longenecker, “Suprahuman” who places Paul’s diatribe against the Galatian Judaizers within the context of first-century magical practices.

worldview of the author of Colossians. Next, I will examine the nature of the “powers” in Colossians.⁴⁸

5.2.3.2 Evil Powers in Colossians (1:13, 16; 2:8, 10, 15, 20)

It is evident through examination of the terms θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαὶ, ἐξουσίαι (1:16, 2:10, 15) and τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20) that the Colossian author shares the thought world of EJJ in which a two-tiered cosmos is populated by spiritual beings and powers. In the HB, EJJ, and the NT, these terms: (1) refer to concrete entities, whether divine or human, good or evil,⁴⁹ and (2) typically have one meaning in context.⁵⁰ Lightfoot laid particular importance on the terms occurring together, as they do in the *T. Levi* (ch. 3), concluding that the terms are “concrete words” for a “celestial hierarchy.”⁵¹ While caution must be exercised in use of *T. Levi* 2-5,⁵² analysis of EJJ supports Lightfoot’s conclusion.⁵³ In the first century CE, these terms (Col 1:13; 1:16, 20; 2:8, 10, 15, 20) would have been interpreted as spiritual beings, “powers,” that governed the created order and threatened humankind.⁵⁴

The powers are a problem because humanity exists in a state of slavery to “the authority of darkness” (ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους, 1:13), a chief, evil, angelic being who

48. Rightly, Arnold, *Ephesians*, 130 asks whether the Apostle Paul and the author of Ephesians “demythologized” the “powers”? The question bears on this study because Wink, *Naming*, 66, 82 argues that the Colossian author has in view “social structures” and not “evil spirits in the sky” when referring to the “powers.”

49. See Wink, *Naming*, 13–35, 151–65, for usage in EJJ and the NT.

50. *Contra* Wink, *Naming*, 65 that one term may refer to two different things at the same time. Rightly Arnold, *Ephesians*, 48–49 notes that Wink “does not provide any compelling examples of one term used in this comprehensive sense.”

51. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 151–52.

52. Dating ranges from the first part of the second century BC to the beginning of the third century AD and the text shows signs of Christian influence. As noted by Sappington, *Revelation*, 53. See also Forbes, “Principalities,” 77–78.

53. In agreement, see Dunn, *Colossians*, 92–93. *Contra* Schweizer, *Colossians*, 60 that angelic powers are not in view because “thrones and dominions” never appear in such series of angelic powers in the undisputed Pauline corpus. *Contra* Wink, *Naming*, 66 who fails to account for a first-century worldview.

54. *Contra* Carr, *Angels*, 52ff that the author viewed these spiritual entities as “the angelic host of God.” Rightly, MacDonald, *Colossians*, 99 notes Col “2:15 makes it very clear that the author of Colossians viewed these forces as evil.”

rules a host of evil beings in a realm of authority. This evil “power” and sphere is contrasted with Christ and the “kingdom” (βασιλεία) “of the son of his love.”⁵⁵ The contrast between the “authority of darkness” and Christ exemplifies the “eschatological dualism of apocalyptic” in EJL, a cosmological conflict between two opposing spheres or kingdoms.⁵⁶ The result of slavery to the “authority of darkness” is that the recipients commit sins and are enemies of God.⁵⁷

In the author’s cultural milieu, many believed that evil spiritual beings, including τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20), govern the cosmic order and threaten humankind.⁵⁸ People feared the influence of στοιχεῖα in their lives; therefore, the opponents’ teaching regarding τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου likely served as a countervailing measure to ameliorate the influence of the στοιχεῖα within the “earthly” sphere.⁵⁹ Furthermore, fears of governing angelic powers may stand behind the author’s discussion of creation in 1:15-20.⁶⁰ Alluding to the Creation and Fall account, the author indicates all things, “earthly” and “heavenly,” were created by God and

55. On βασιλεία, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 189 notes its connection to 2 Sam 7:12-16 and the proclamation that the Davidic kingdom will last forever (cf. Psalms 2:7 and Psalm 89:27f.). See also, N. T. Wright, *Colossians*, 66 that in 1:13 as in Mark 1:11 Jesus is declared God’s Son who, as King of Israel, fulfills God’s “ancient purposes.” That the unusual Greek expression, “son of his love,” is probably due to the translation of a “Hebraism” or “Semitic form,” see Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 189 n. 80 See also Dunn, *Colossians*, 79; Sumney, *Colossians*, 57.

56. Cf. Amos 5:18, 20; *1 En.* 92:4-5; 108:11-15; *2 Bar.* 18:2. As cited in Dunn, *Colossians*, 77-78.

57. Correctly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 134 draws together the Colossian author’s thought (1:12-1:21) that prior to redemption the recipients “sie standen unter der ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους (1,13)” and thus “waren durch ihre Sünden im Denken und im Handeln Feinde Gottes (1,21).”

58. Rightly, Smith, *Heavenly*, 80-87 rejects στοιχεῖα as depersonalized forces, instead taking them to represent personalized angelic forces standing behind the elements, the stars, and the law. See Longenecker, “Suprahuman,” 92 that in a first-century worldview spiritual “powers” were understood as the forces standing behind earthly rulers, empowering and directing them. Similarly, see Lohse, “Pauline,” 211. Earlier Bornkamm, “Heresy,” 124. That στοιχεῖα represent personified spiritual forces of some kind which Paul knew some people took to be gods, see Forbes, “Principalities,” 82-83.

59. For evidence that “the *stoicheia* are to be understood as evil spiritual ‘powers’ equivalent to the ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι (1:16; 2:10, 15),” see Arnold, *Syncretism*, 158-94 who demonstrates that people sought to control and be protected from them. See further, Arnold, “Stoicheia,” 6. Similarly, see Smith, *Heavenly*, 86.

60. *Contra* Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 150 the author’s rhetoric should not be interpreted as evidence for proto-Gnosticism or Gnostic Judaizers in the background. Instead of Jewish Gnosticism, Arnold, *Syncretism*, 253-54 rightly concludes, “The use of the terms in these contexts is best explained by the Jewish usage of the terms to denote angelic powers (*1 En.* 61:10; *2 En.* 20:1; *T. Levi* 3:8; *T. Sol* 20:15; 3:6. . . . In addition, *1 En.* 6:7-8, . . . *3 Bar.* 12:3 . . . *T. Abr.* 13:10.”

stood in right relationship to God (cf. Gen 1-2). But subsequent to Creation, at least some of the “powers” rebelled and now oppose God and Christ.⁶¹ Creation is no longer καλός (“good”).⁶² Instead, “all things” (τὰ πάντα) need to be “unified/reconciled” (ἀποκαταλλάσσω) “through” (διὰ) and “in” (εἰς) Christ in order to “make peace” (εἰρηνοποιέω, 1:20). The list in Col 1:16, then, brings malevolent powers in focus, and as I will discuss later functions to indicate that Christ, as Creator, Sustainer, and Redeemer, is preeminent over every astrological entity, angel, and “power” in the cosmos.

Forbes helpfully notes that in the undisputed Pauline epistles the “powers” also refer to semi-personal “forces” such as the power of sin.⁶³ Such is the case in Col 1:16 where, I argue, the author has provided a comprehensive list of *all* the “powers” inhabiting the κόσμος including different classes of angelic beings and semi-personal “forces” like the negative σάρξ.⁶⁴ Recognizing this aids in grasping the author’s connection between the powers and the σάρξ as discussed above. In Colossians, σάρξ is used as a cosmic power, albeit a power that exists *within* the human person.

I have labored in describing the first-century worldview of author, recipients, and opponents because doing so aids in grasping the author’s theological statements regarding the impact of the Christ-event, *the* decisive event on the κόσμος and the new existence. As I will explain, the author interprets the Christ-event as ending the cosmic

61. Rightly, Walter T. Wilson, *Hope*, 141 notes that in 1:16, and at Creation, there is no delineation between good or evil “powers of heaven.” Such is the state after “a revolt.” This leaves open the question whether good or evil “powers” are in view in 2:10, 15.

62. This represents a departure with Greek and Hellenistic philosophy. As Edward Adams, *Constructing*, 44 notes, the “κόσμος was used to designate the natural order of the universe” and “the ‘goodness’ of that order was immediately implied.” See Edward Adams, *Constructing*, 48–49 that in Plato’s *Timaeus* “the κόσμος is described as καλός and as the best of all things that have come into existence.” Further, as Edward Adams, *Constructing*, 64 points out, “In terms of its influence on Greek and Hellenistic philosophy and its widespread cultural dissemination, particularly from the first century BCE onward, Plato’s *Timaeus* was the most important philosophical text of antiquity.” I conclude, then, that the Colossian author articulates a cosmogony in line with Gen 1-3, not Hellenistic philosophy exemplified in *Timaeus*.

63. See Forbes, “Principalities,” 61 fn 2 that: (1) Paul seems to believe that the force or being he personifies ‘really exists’, and (2) that “an impersonal or semi-personal ‘force’, rather than a personal being, may be Paul’s intended meaning.”

64. Rightly, Aletti, *Colossians*, 101–2 views the “power” terms in 1:16 as referring to both angelic beings and semi-personal forces as in the Pauline corpus.

battle *prior* to Judgment. Thus, the elect proleptically experience this victory “in Christ,” a fundamental alteration to their existence. Articulating these alterations becomes the author’s focus throughout the epistle. Thus, the author’s polemics (2:8 ff.) may be understood as detailing the new existence of the elect so that the recipients live in the light of this new reality “in Christ,” one in which the opponents’ prescriptions have been rendered futile. Grasping the impact of the Christ-event on the new existence, then, requires locating the author’s discussion of creation, the κόσμος, the powers, and the σάρξ within a first-century worldview.⁶⁵

5.3 Hermeneutical Use of the HB

Very briefly, I will highlight how Colossians handles the HB. It contains no explicit quote from the HB and does not name a prominent biblical figure.⁶⁶ Instead, the author reflects upon the significance of the Christ-event by way of “echoes.”⁶⁷ This hermeneutic is reminiscent of sapiential literature which rarely undergirds exhortations by way of reference to patriarchal figures, the Law, Israel, prophecy, or the like. This stands in sharp contrast to the explicit quotations of and multiple allusions to the HB by the author of 1 Peter. The hermeneutic utilized in 1 Peter bears striking resemblance to the “inspirational” exegesis of the author’s Jewish contemporaries. The hermeneutic of Colossians bears little resemblance to this, instead reflecting other traditions within Judaism which are appropriated to express ideas about God, humankind, and salvation.

My point is simply this: a different hermeneutical use of the HB and EJL *may* indicate that the author of Colossians draws upon, at times, different streams of Jewish

65. On this in the undisputed Pauline epistles, see Engberg-Pedersen, “Material,” 179, 191. While Engberg-Pedersen may overstate the materiality of God’s *pneuma*, he rightly frames the discussion by noting that Paul’s anthropological views are “an expression of the [author’s] concrete cosmology.”

66. That the epistle’s “monstrous sentences” reflect the author’s appropriation of the HB to explicate the Christ-event, see O’Neill, “Source,” 89.

67. See Beetham, *Echoes* who argues Colossians makes reference to the HB eleven times. Of the eleven, Beetham argues that two are “allusions” and nine are more faintly heard “echoes.”

traditions.⁶⁸ Different sects, parties, and cognitive milieus existed within Judaism, each reflecting on the nature of God, humankind, the elect, and living rightly. Therefore, the presence of a strikingly different hermeneutic may indicate a partially different cognitive milieu from which the author draws to reflect on the new existence.

5.4 The Christ-Event and Present Effects (νυνὶ δέ)

In what follows, I will detail the effects of the Christ-event on the aforementioned problems and on the existence of the elect. The author of Colossians stresses, at times with great force, present aspects of salvation. Believers are: redeemed from their “sins,” rescued from the threat of the evil “powers,” indwelt by Christ(’s Spirit), transformed by the removal of the negative σάρξ, and incorporated into the one σῶμα of Christ.

5.4.1 Redeemed from “Sins” (1:14, 21-22; 2:13-14)

The author stresses that the Christ-event solves the problem of “sins” for those who “have faith in Christ Jesus” (1:4). Through participation in Christ’s death and resurrection (cf. 2:12), believers have “redemption” (ἀπολύτρωσις), the remission (ἄφεσις) of sins (1:14). Graphic language, like Christ’s shed blood on the cross (1:20, 22; cf. 2:14), recalls images of sacrificial atonement in the HB and functions to emphasize that the cross protects those who have faith “in Christ” from God’s wrath through “reconciliation” (ἀποκαταλλάσσω, 1:20,22), making peace between

68. The NT epistles are written to unique audiences to address particular needs. Rightly, Beetham, *Echoes*, 260–62 argues that the different recipient context may explain why the Apostle Paul explicitly quotes the HB in Romans and 1 Corinthians, but never does so in Philipians or 1 Thessalonians. If this is the case, then Colossians’ hermeneutics may reflect, to some degree, the situational context of the recipients.

humankind and God (1:20; cf. 3:6).⁶⁹ Because τὰ πάντα have been reconciled (1:20), Christ's death was the final cultic sacrifice, a sentiment shared by the author of 1 Peter. The elect have had their sins "freely forgiven" while "the sons of disobedience" (τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας,⁷⁰) remain in their sins to face God's wrath (3:6). Faith in, or rejection of, Christ, then, results in a division in humanity (soteriological dualism).⁷¹

In 2:13-15, the author again discusses redemption in Christ, but this time with unique "images and language."⁷² In 2:14, the author describes "forgiveness" (χαρίζομαι, 2:13) metaphorically as an "erasing" (ἐξαλείφω), "setting aside" (αἶρω), and "nailing" (προσηλόω) of a χειρόγραφον to the cross of Christ (2:14). In 2:15, the author employs the vivid metaphor of Christ "leading in triumphal parade" (θριαμβεύω) and "disgracing" (δειγματίζω) evil powers "stripped" (ἀπεκδύομαι) of authority.

Having employed stock cultic imagery in chapter one, why the change of imagery in 2:14-15? One interpretation is that the author draws from pre-formed hymns and traditions, and as he appears to have done so in 1:15-20, this is difficult to rule out.⁷³ But the polemical context indicates that the metaphors serve other ends. To grasp the context, it is vital to begin at 2:8 with the author's two charges against the opponents' teaching, namely that their "philosophy" is: (1) κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, and (2) κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. In 2:9-15, the author systematically knocks down the "philosophy" concluding with two metaphors to render the "philosophy" superfluous. The flow of the argument is best seen in the Greek:⁷⁴

69. See Dunn, *Colossians*, 166. See also, Dunn, "Sacrifice," 41, 48–49 for sacrificial terminology/imagery that Christ's death is an atoning sacrifice that reconciles humankind to God, cf. Acts 20:28; Rom 3:25; 4:25; 5:6-9; 8:3, 32; 1 Cor 10:16; 11:25, 27; 15:3; 2 Cor 5:14-15, 21; Gal 1:4, 2:20; 3:13; Eph 1:7; 2:13; 5:2, 25; 1 Thess. 5:9-10; Heb 9:12, 14, 18; 10:19; 12:24; 13:12, 20; 1 Pet 1:2, 19; 1 John 1:7; Rev 1:5; 5:9.

70. That the phrase is original, see Metzger, *Textual*, 557. Cf. 4Q417 i 15; 4Q418a 201 2.

71. On 'dualisms,' see Frey, "Patterns," 284.

72. E.g., Only here χειρόγραφον, προσηλόω, ἀπεκδύομαι; nowhere in "undisputed" Pauline corpus ἐξαλείφω, ὑπεναντίος, δόγμα. See, Sumney, *Colossians*, 143.

73. Lohse, *Colossians*, 106–7 n. 86.

74. In agreement with Arnold, *Syncretism*, 275, that 2:9-15 is the "central theological passage" of the epistle. Outline adapted from his syntactical diagram.

Opponents' "philosophy"

. . . διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης⁷⁵

[Charge 1] **κατὰ** τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

[Charge 2] **κατὰ** τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου

[Thus] καὶ οὐ **κατὰ** Χριστόν· (2:8)

Argument pt.1 - God Dwells in The Risen Christ

ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς (2:9)

Argument pt.2 - Christ Dwells in the Elect

καὶ ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ **πεπληρωμένοι**,

ὅς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας (2:10)

Teaching That Is "κατὰ Χριστόν"

(a) ἐν ᾧ καὶ **περιετμήθητε** περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ . . . (2:11)

(b) ἐν ᾧ καὶ **συνηγέρθητε** . . . (2:12b)

(c) **συνεζωοποίησεν** ὑμᾶς σὺν αὐτῷ (2:13b)

(i) **χαρισάμενος** ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα. (2:13c)

(ii) **ἐξαλείψας** . . . χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν (2:14a)

(iii) **ἀπεκδυσάμενος** τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας (2:15a)

The first metaphor, of a χειρόγραφον (2:14), serves to refute the opponents' teaching but also indicates the shared cognitive environment of author and opponents.

Scholars are divided on its meaning: bond of debt, heavenly book of deeds, or the

75. I understand the three parallel prepositional phrases (κατὰ) as describing the false teaching. The first two indicating its source and content. See Moo, *Colossians*, 186; cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 177–78.

Mosaic law.⁷⁶ Arguing for bond of debt, scholars note that χειρόγραφον was a term commonly used in antiquity to designate financial obligations appropriated by the author to depict indebtedness to God for sins.⁷⁷ Clearly, indebtedness to God is in view, but the imagery suggests the author has more in mind.

In favor of the “heavenly” book, Sappington suggests that the author is reflecting the “referential background” of apocalyptic Judaism. He argues that the metaphor evokes images of a heavenly book of deeds such as that found in apocalyptic texts (e.g. *1 En.* 89:61-64, 70-71; 108:7; *2 En.* 53:2-3) which, when combined with the triumphal imagery in 2:15, provides “numerous and significant” points of contact with the judgment scenes in the apocalypses, especially that found within the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (7:1-10).⁷⁸ Collins’ examination of the fifteen Jewish apocalypses supports this conclusion by indicating that none viewed salvation as present for the elect.⁷⁹ To the extent that the opponents represent views within apocalyptic Judaism, it would make sense, then, for the author to draw upon this referential background to differentiate their view from his. However, the author may *also* be reflecting his own traditions.

The imagery of a “heavenly book” occurs in Mesopotamian literature, the HB and throughout EJJL.⁸⁰ Thus, χειρόγραφον evokes a cultural milieu beyond apocalyptic texts (e.g., Ex 32:32; Psa 69:28; Mal 3:16; cf. 4Q417 1 i 14-16; 4 Ez. 6:20). For example, Malachi describes a “book of remembrance” (סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן) in which is written before the LORD the names of those who fear him (Mal 3:16). In *4QInstruction* (4Q417 1 i 14-16), it appears there are two books in heaven. One, written by God,

76. For uses in antiquity, see *BDAG*, entry 7910.

77. See Arnold, *Syncretism*, 292–93. For uses and meaning in antiquity, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 185–87. As broadly reflecting Jewish thought, Schweizer, *Colossians*, 148–50. With no nuance beyond “IOU,” see Moo, *Colossians*, 210. As a “document of transgression” written by the sinner, see Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 370–71. See also, Yates, “Metaphor”.

78. E.g., the presence of the transliterated term χειρόγραφον, forgiveness viewed as a wiping away of sins from a heavenly book of deeds, angels function as scribes of human deeds and witnesses, the language of triumph follows, and the theme of final judgment undergirds exhortations, see Sappington, *Revelation*, 94–11, 208–23. See also, Dunn, *Colossians*, 164–66.

79. See Collins, “Jewish,” 28, and note item #6 under “Temporal Axis.”

80. Lange, *Weisheit*, 69–79.

condemns the wicked, and another, a “book of memorial” (ספר זקרון), lists the names and/or acts of the righteous. Rarely brought into the discussion by scholars, these texts demonstrate that this theme occurs in a wide range of Jewish literature over a long period of time.⁸¹ Thus, “heavenly book” may signal the author’s own cognitive milieu.

In favor of the third interpretation, a few scholars argue that χειρόγραφον refers to the Mosaic law.⁸² Even scholars not agreeing with this position, generally agree that δόγματα (2:14; cf. δογματίζω, 2:20) carries the sense of “legal demands,” clearly seen in its usage in Hellenistic Judaism with reference to the commandments/doctrines of God.⁸³ Further, it is clear that in the NT δόγμα can refer to a Jewish interpretation of the Law and a command related to the Law.⁸⁴ Whether the Mosaic Law is in view or not, the author, at a minimum, brings in view Jewish *regulations*, and most likely has these in mind in his condemnations in 2:16, 21-22.⁸⁵ By the author’s own words, the χειρόγραφον and the δόγματα were “against us.”⁸⁶

That the author brings in view, and critiques, Jewish regulations (written and oral) is evident by his labeling the opponent’s teaching παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων (2:8; cf. τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 2:22). Josephus identifies the Pharisees with παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, that is *oral* regulations arising from their halakhic interpretations. He discusses at length their twofold conception of the Law.⁸⁷ As Lührmann notes, “that this conception of the twofold Law, written and oral, goes back to Pharisaism and is not a creation of the Rabbis after 70 CE, cannot be

81. Cf. this motif in the NT (Luke 10:20; Heb 12:23; Rev 20:12). In agreement with Pokorný, *Colossians*, 137–38 that χειρόγραφον reflects both a document of indebtedness and reflects “the conception of the heavenly lists of the guilty” from Judaism.

82. See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 185. Also see N. T. Wright, *Colossians*, 116–19. More recently, Bevere, *Sharing*, 139–42.

83. E.g., 3 Macc 3:1; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1:42; *Ant.* 15:136, cited by Lohse, *Colossians*, 110 n. 114. See also, Josephus, *Ant.* 17:159; *J.W.* 2:142; Philo, *Spec.* 1:345.

84. E.g., Acts 16:4, the “decisions” by apostles and elders in Jerusalem; Eph 2:15, “the law with its commandments and ordinances.”

85. See Dunn, *Colossians*, 165. Rightly, Schweizer, *Colossians*, 150–51 argues the term refers broadly to any “commandments or requirements” threatening salvation.

86. As Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 209 notes, “no one felt this more keenly than Paul the Pharisee (cf. Rom 7:16, 22, 23).”

87. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13:297, 408.

doubted.”⁸⁸ This conclusion is strengthened by Schaper’s cogent argument that this Pharisaic doctrine was “more or less established by the time of Herod,” that is during the middle of the first-century B.C.E.⁸⁹

That debates over the Pharisees’ oral regulations occurred in the first century C.E. is reflected in “actual historical disputes between the Pharisees and Jesus.”⁹⁰ Controversy arose from disagreement over halakah developed by the Pharisees, namely the “traditions of the fathers,” the oral Law.⁹¹ The synoptic gospels utilize the term παράδοσις eight times, and in every instance it is with reference to the Pharisees.⁹² In Mark 7:8, Jesus charges the Pharisees with abandoning the commandments of God and holding to παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, the same phrase occurring in Col 2:8. The Apostle Paul’s self-description, similarly, connects Pharisaism with zealousness for the “traditions of my fathers” (Gal. 1:14; cf. Phil 3:5-6).⁹³ Due to the polemical context, παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων is most assuredly an epithet for Jewish oral regulations.

The significance of this is that the author’s language points to an *emic* perspective, that is one engaged in an intra-family dispute. The vivid imagery in 2:14-15, including reference to a χειρόγραφον, reflects agreement that a “heavenly book” containing a list of recorded failures exists. However, since the metaphor occurs at the conclusion of the central polemical section, it appears that the dividing line is the effect of the Christ-event on this χειρόγραφον and on the δόγματα against the elect. For the author, at least, the answer is clear. The Christ-event is *the* final event in atonement and the apocalyptic marker between the two-ages. “Once” (ποτέ, 1:21; 3:7) alienated and engaging in evil deeds, the elect are “now” (νυνί, 1:22; 3:8) reconciled, holy and blameless. The author explicates present forgiveness in 2:9-15 for polemical purposes,

88. Lührmann, “Pharisaic,” 37.

89. On the historical background and origins of the Pharisees, see Schaper, “Pharisees,” 421.

90. Schaper, “Pharisees,” 424.

91. For examples, see Lührmann, “Pharisaic,” 38.

92. E.g., Matt. 15:2, 3, 6; Mark 7:3, 5, 8, 9, 13.

93. On the Pharasaic background of Paul, see Davies and Sanders, “Paul,” 680–91.

and as will become clearer in the next chapter, reflects the backdrop of *4QInstruction* in articulating his position.

5.4.2 Freed from the “Powers” (1:15-20; 2:10, 15; cf. 2:8, 15, 20)

The author of Colossians repeatedly emphasizes that all powers were created by Christ (1:16) and have been reconciled (1:20) and dethroned by Christ (2:15). As a result, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20) pose no threat to the elect “in Christ.” This is a motif at which the author of 1 Peter only hints (cf. 1 Pet 3:22), but which the author of Colossians strategically employs against the opponents by opening the epistle (1:15-20) emphasizing Christ’s Lordship (1:15-20) and the completed nature of redemption.⁹⁴

At the start, the author identifies Christ as the πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (1:15), the agent of creation. Utilizing a chiasmic structure (ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη, 1:16a; εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται, 1:16d) and the idiom “all things in the heavens and on the earth” (τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), the author emphasizes that both spheres, the totality of existence outside of God, were created (κτίζω, 2x) διὰ Christ (Col 1:16).⁹⁵ All created beings, both good and evil, exist because Christ created them,⁹⁶ an expression of a Jewish monotheistic view.⁹⁷ In this way, the author identifies Christ

94. All fifteen Jewish apocalypses exhibit interest in “otherworldly beings” (the “powers”), and in many, primordial history plays a significant role (e.g. *1 En.* 1-36, 37-71, *4 Ezra*, *2 Bar.*, *3 Bar.*, *Apoc. Ab.*) as noted by Collins, “Jewish,” 25, 28. Therefore, discussion of the “powers” and creation in Colossians *may* be to quell interests/teachings of the opponents. In agreement, see Lohse, “Pauline,” 213. Rightly, Pollard, “Colossians,” 573 notes that the framework of 1:15-20 is “the fact of redemption.”

95. That ἐν, δι’, and εἰς express in a complimentary way “the creative agency of the Son” (la médiation créatrice du Fils), see Aletti, *Colossiens*, 99. Rightly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 91, 97–99 rejects the gnostic myth interpretation of 1:16 which viewed the prepositional phrase ἐν αὐτῷ locally. Instead, Dübbers helpfully notes the chiasmic structure of 1:16 and the instrumental sense of ἐν αὐτῷ.

96. See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 150–51. In agreement, see Lohse, *Colossians*, 51. That the author has “particularly in view” hostile powers, see O’Brien, *Colossians*, 46. That only evil and hostile spiritual beings are in view, see Arnold, *Syncretism*, 255.

97. Highlighting the use of κτίζω [2x], Aletti, *Colossiens*, 100 points to the sapiential idea that all beings are created by God (c.f., Prov 3:19; Wis 9:9), thus pantheism and notions of gnostic emanations are not in view.

with the Most High God,⁹⁸ the creative agent portrayed in the Genesis creation account (Gen 1-2),⁹⁹ an identification carried forward with Christ depicted as the sustainer of creation (1:17).

As reconciler of τὰ πάντα (1:20), Christ reigns over the “powers,”¹⁰⁰ depicted by the image of Christ sitting at God’s right hand (3:1).¹⁰¹ Subjected to Christ, but not destroyed, some powers continue to ravage the earth and enslave the ungodly.¹⁰² Yates argues this results in “the uncomfortable dichotomy of maintaining on the one hand that they [the cosmic powers of evil] have been overcome and reconciled, but on the other hand not yet finally defeated and still able to oppose man and his interests.”¹⁰³ But Yates fails to account for the overlapping of eschatological ages. While transferred into Christ’s kingdom (1:13), the elect live on earth. In that sphere, the evil powers continue to enslave “the sons of disobedience” until Christ’s return (3:4). But “in Christ,” the elect proleptically experience “the hope of the gospel” (1:23).

The author reinforces Christ’s Lordship and believers’ redemption in 2:9-15.¹⁰⁴ In 2:15, he writes that Christ “ἀπεκδυσάμενος the rulers and authorities [αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐξουσίαι] and made a public example of them, triumphing [θριαμβεύω] over them in it.”¹⁰⁵ The second half of the verse conveys the image of Christ leading a triumphal

98. As Bauckham, “‘Most High’,” 40 notes, EJP “constantly understands the uniqueness of the God of Israel as that of the one Creator of all things and the one sovereign Ruler of all things.”

99. Rightly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 99 interprets 1:16 to say that Christ is “the co-creator and therefore in the indissoluble unity with the Father himself”; therefore, the author of Colossians emphasizes that Christ is God.

100. Rightly, Lohse, “Pauline,” 213. See also, Lohse, *Colossians*, 101.

101. That this echoes Psa 110:1 (cf. Dan 7:9-14) to signify Christ’s unique position of power over the powers, see Dunn, *Colossians*, 203–5. Cf. 1 Pet 3:22.

102. Aletti, *Colossians*, 170.

103. Yates, “Triumphant,” 581.

104. That 2:9-15 reflects on and contains echoes of the themes introduced in 1:15-20, see MacDonald, *Colossians*, 98–99, i.e. 2:9 (God dwelling in Christ) recalls 1:19; 2:10 (Christ as ‘head of every ruler and power’) “recalls 1:18 (‘head’) and 1:16 (‘ruler and power’);” 2:10 recalls 1:16 and refers to “evil spiritual powers who needed to be placated,” and “2:15 makes it very clear that the author of Colossians viewed these forces as evil.” Cf. 2:20, dying with Christ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου.

105. See, Yates, “Triumphant,” 574–75 for an overview of the “grammatical, syntactical, and exegetical problems involved.” See also Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 187–90.

parade proclaiming the defeat and subjugation of the “powers.” At the end of the polemical section, the image punctuates the futility of the opponents’ “philosophy” κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8). What, though, does the author mean in the first half of 2:15? As I discussed earlier, αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐξουσίαι refers to the malevolent powers. But what is the meaning of the term ἀπεκδύομαι?

In classical literature, the term means “to strip off from,”¹⁰⁶ and since ἀπεκδύομαι is in the middle voice, this raises the question of what was stripped and from whom? Bruce, rightly, argues that “the middle voice here simply indicates the personal interest of the subject in the action of the verb.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, God in Christ, is the active subject who stripped (or “disarmed”) the “powers” of their ability to influence and harm the elect.¹⁰⁸ This flows naturally out of the previous verse’s reference to the cross (e.g., 2:14) and builds on the fact that the elect have been transferred out of “the authority of darkness” (1:13) and that Christ has reconciled “all things” (1:20). Thus, after stripping the malevolent beings of power in his death, Christ “triumphs” (θριαμβεύω) over them in resurrection.¹⁰⁹ This leads the author in 2:10 (a polemical context) to proclaim that Christ is the “head” (κεφαλή), or ruler, of all “rule and authority” (ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας),¹¹⁰ thereby re-emphasizing the Lordship of Christ over all creation.

106. See also *BDAG*, entry 844, for examples in Hellenistic Greek where the middle voice is used in an active sense.

107. See Bruce, *Colossians*, 107 n. 82 who notes two other options: (1) Christ stripping off “the hostile powers from himself”; (2) “what Christ put off was his ‘body of flesh (cf. v. 11).”

108. *Contra*, Carr, *Angels*, 59 that Colossians does not discuss evil powers. *Contra* Yates, “Triumphant,” 579–80 that 2:15 refers to “celebratory hosts,” and that ἀπεκδύομαι refers to stripping of Christ in death.

109. As Beker, *Triumph*, 81 aptly comments, “The death of Christ shatters the alliance of the apocalyptic powers and signals the imminent overthrow of death, ‘the last enemy’ (cf. Rom 6:7–10; 7:4–6; 8: 35–39; 1 Cor 2:6–8; 15:26). . . . Colossians interprets Paul’s understanding of Christ’s death correctly on this point: . . . (Col 2:15; cf. Eph 1:20–22.)” Cf. *Psa* 68:18; *Luke* 10:18; 24:26; *John* 12:31; 16:11; *Acts* 5:31; *Rom* 8:34; 16:20; 1 Cor 15:20–28; 2 Cor 2:14; 4:4; *Eph* 4:8; 6:12; *Phil* 2:9–11; *Col* 1:16; 2:10,14; *Heb* 1:3; 2:9, 14, 15; 9:12; 10:12;12:2; *Rev* 12:9; 20:10.

110. Christ as head πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας alludes to the comprehensive list in 1:16 and Christ’s reign over “all things.” *Contra* Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 152 who thinks 2:10 refers only to “good angels.” *Contra* Dübbers, *Christologie*, 219 who argues that Christ is κεφαλή of those angelic beings only in the sphere of God.

Thus, the author frames teaching regarding τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20) with creation and eschatology. As Creator, Christ is Lord over the astrological entities including the angelic powers which stand behind them (1:15-20). As Lord, Christ's return (φανερῶω, 3:4) ushers in God's eschatological wrath (3:6, 25). All things, including the στοιχεῖα, properly understood fall under the sovereignty of Christ. This eschatological and cosmological knowledge shapes believers' view of their existence and encourages them to live in light of revealed knowledge. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the author's theological emphases and strategy parallels that of *4QInstruction*.

5.4.3 Indwelt by God from the "Heavenlies"

A present effect of the Christ-event is that Christ indwells the elect (1:27, 2:10; cf. 1:11; 1:29). In this section, I will discuss the effects of indwelling, i.e. removal of the negative σάρξ and incorporation into the one σῶμα of Christ. I begin by discussing Christ's paradigmatic existence "on the earth" and "in the heavens."

5.4.3.1 God in Christ (1:19; 2:9)

Christ is the paradigm of the new existence. To substantiate this, I will argue that 1:19 indicates that God indwelt Jesus during his earthly ministry, foreshadowing Christ's indwelling the σῶμα of the elect. Moreover, God continues to indwell the "heavenly" Christ, foreshadowing the new existence in its future resurrection state.

Colossians 1:19 focuses on Christ's *past* bodily existence "on the earth," while 2:9 focuses on Christ's *present* bodily existence "in the heavens." Temporally and spatially, these verses bookend the Christ-event, the decisive turning point between the two ages. The connection between them lies in their description of an intimate relationship between Christ and the πλήρωμα. How to interpret πλήρωμα in 1:19 and

2:9 becomes a key question because the author of Colossians asserts that the πλήρωμα resides ἐν αὐτῷ, that is “in Christ” (e.g. “dwelt,” 1:19; “dwells” 2:9).

The meaning of πλήρωμα has generated much discussion.¹¹¹ Its presence within second-century gnostic texts, such as those associated with Valentinianism, led scholars of previous generations to posit the presence of a pre-Christian Gnosticism which NT authors wrote against and which, possibly, influenced those same authors.¹¹² On this historical reconstruction, use of πλήρωμα is interpreted to reflect a battle with heresy that combined elements from Judaism and nascent Gnosticism.¹¹³ Scholarship has rightly rejected such interpretations as an anachronistic reading of the NT. Firstly, no Gnostic texts exist which are prior to or contemporaneous with the NT period.¹¹⁴ Secondly, as Wilson discusses, “there is no need to attempt to interpret it in terms of second-century Valentinianism: it was the Gnostics who took over the term, and adapted it to their purposes.”¹¹⁵ The term is well-attested in classical literature, with the basic meaning of “completeness.”¹¹⁶ This same basic idea is conveyed in its fifteen uses in the LXX where it is used with reference to the fullness of the sea, earth, or

111. On the term’s usage in classical literature, LXX, NT, and Gnostic literature, as well as interpretive options, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 255–71; G. Delling, “πλήρωμα,” *TDNT* 6:298–305; H. Hübner, “πλήρωμα,” *EDNT* 3:110–11.; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 301–4.

112. See Bultmann, *Primitive* in his chapter on Gnosticism. Also, Schmithals, *Gnosticism* who theorizes that 1-2 Corinthians represents six letters written by Paul, but collated in late first-century to combat Gnosticism. Further developed in Schmithals, *Paul* where he argues that Paul combated Jewish-Gnosticism in Galatia, Phillipi, Thessalonica, and Rome.

113. That the conflict was against a syncretistic Judaeo-Gnostic heresy, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 73. But he retrojects second-century Gnosticism into the mid-first century. So also Moule, *Colossians*, 31, 159–68 who thinks that πλήρωμα is “reflecting writings later than the New Testament period” and concludes that Gnosticism was present earlier as “a ‘gnostic’ type of Judaism or a Jewish type of ‘gnosticism’.”

114. See Robert McL Wilson, “Slippery,” 297–98 that all of Bultmann’s ancient sources for evidence of Gnosticism are “demonstrably later than the New Testament.” See also Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 303.

115. See Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 153. In agreement, see Yates, “Gnosis,” 54, 57 who, although he argues that gnosticism developed *contemporaneously* and in parallel with Christianity, nevertheless concludes that Jewish mysticism lies at the heart of the opponents’ teaching; thus, Colossians serves as the “raw materials out of which gnosticism was built.” See Segal, *Powers* that Gnosticism arose out of Judaism due to disillusionment following destruction of the Temple (post AD 70), but especially, in response to the failed Jewish revolt led by Simon bar Kosiba and the subsequent deportation of Jews from Jerusalem (post AD 135). See also, Hengel, “Ursprünge” who points to Hellenistic Judaism in its response to these events.

116. Delling, *TDNT* 6:298.

land.¹¹⁷ In the HB, the verb “to fill” and the adjective “full” are used “to describe filling with God’s presence or essence.”¹¹⁸ In its seventeen uses in the NT, the term continues to convey the idea of “full, complete.”¹¹⁹

I argue that the author of Colossians draws upon the conceptual backdrop in Jewish literature of God’s essence or glory filling creation, the Temple, people, and the universe to express the fulfillment of the apocalyptic expectation in EYL that God’s presence would return to live among his people at the ‘end of days.’¹²⁰ Thus, as Gnllka rightly observes, the “hymn” describes the inauguration of this eschatological act as God dwells in Christ.¹²¹ Pokorný argues that this Jewish conception of God indwelling humanity, which serves as background for the baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:9-11), has affinities with 1:19.¹²² However, each occurrence of πλήρωμα must be understood in its rhetorical context. The importance of doing so is demonstrated not only by its usage in classical literature, LXX, and the NT but also by Valentinian exegesis of πλήρωμα which rested upon isolation of words without understanding them in context.¹²³

The immediate context of the passage centers on the theme of reconciliation in Christ (1:12-23), and in fact sits within a “hymn” which discusses reconciliation in the very next verse (1:20). The author places this “hymn” (1:15-20) between the bookends

117. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 302.

118. E.g., the glory of God filled the temple (1Kgs 8:10, 27) and the earth (Psa 72:19 [LXX 71:19]; Jer 23:24] as cited in Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 304.

119. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 302.

120. Citing Wis 1:4; *T. Zeb.* 8:2; *T. Ben.* 6:4; *1 En.* 49:3, Dunn, *Colossians*, 100 points out that “the thought of divine indwelling (κατοικέω) in human beings is also familiar in Jewish thought.” Dunn argues that since Wisdom is spoken of as indwelling, the Christology in Colossians represents this Wisdom tradition. I disagree. The *conceptual* category of God’s Spirit indwelling humans is present in the HB and within EYL and provides the backdrop for the author’s thought, e.g. Ezek 36:26-27; cf. Jub. 1:17; *T. Lev.* 5:2; *T. Dan.* 5:1. For critique of Wisdom christology, see Fee, *Christology*, 317–25.

121. That “die Endzeit inaugurierendes Handeln Gottes beschrieben wird,” see Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 71–72.

122. See Pokorný, *Colossians*, 85–86, and similarly God in believers (cf. Rom 8:11). See also Aletti, *Colossians*, 110 that if 1:19 returns to the earthly Jesus, then “the outpouring of the Spirit” (à l’effusion de l’Esprit) at Jesus’ baptism is in view. *Contra* Dübbers, *Christologie*, 114 that the aorist εδοκέω refers only to God’s pleasure in his prior decision to reconcile the world in Christ.

123. See examples in Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 267–69.

of a discussion about reconciliation and forgiveness (1:12-14; cf. 1:21-22) indicating that the indwelling of the πλήρωμα is inextricably bound up with the notion of reconciliation.

Paul's discussion of reconciliation in 2 Cor 5:19 clarifies πλήρωμα. There, Paul writes that "in Christ *God* [*italics mine*] was reconciling (καταλλάσσω) the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them." Paul may be indicating that *God was within Christ*; moreover, Paul states this within a discussion of God/Christ reconciling the world, similar to the Colossians' statement that the πλήρωμα dwelt *within* Christ (1:19) reconciling (ἀποκαταλλάσσω, 1:20, 22) all things in him (cf. 2:9; 2:13-14).¹²⁴ If, as I argue, πλήρωμα refers to God residing within Christ then the thought in Colossians resonates with that of 2 Cor 5:19.

The author's use of πλήρωμα in 2:9 strengthens the reading in 1:19 of "God within Christ."¹²⁵ Three items are of note. Firstly, to reflect on and clarify the meaning of πλήρωμα, the author modifies πλήρωμα with τῆς θεότητος,¹²⁶ an "abstract noun for θεός,"¹²⁷ meaning "fullness 'which is' God."¹²⁸ Secondly, God dwells within the glorified body of the heavenly Christ, a fact that is foregrounded by the author's use of the term σωματικῶς.¹²⁹ Thirdly, the author utilizes the same verb, κατοικέω, as in 1:19 to link the two verses. Yet, in 2:9, the verb is in the *present* tense, bringing in view

124. Wilson, *Colossians*, 154.

125. Thus, O'Brien, *Colossians*, 53 summarizes 1:19 as indicating that God's Spirit indwelt Christ. Similarly, Bruce, *Colossians*, 74. Rightly, Moo, *Colossians*, 133 says it is "fruitless to speculate about the moment when God in his fullness 'took up residence' in Christ." Thus discussion on 1:19 as to whether it indicates the *permanent* or *temporary* indwelling of God in Christ goes beyond the text.

126. Taking τῆς θεότητος as an epexegetical genitive, Pokorný, *Colossians*, 121 states 2:9 "is a paraphrase of 1:19." Similarly, Wallace, *Grammar*, 92-94 argues genitive of content meaning "fullness *containing* God."

127. Occurring only here in the NT and LXX, θεότης. See Danker, *et al.*, *BDAG*, entry 3544.

128. *Contra* Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 128 who interprets θεότης as θειότης (Rom 1:20) to refer to the divine nature of God. Rightly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 214 concludes θεότης is God: "wohnt Gott selbst in Christus."

129. That σωματικῶς, is found elsewhere only in Luke 3:22 and 1 Tim 4:8 and brings the physical aspect to the fore, see Rowland, "Visions," 82 n. 35 who notes that through its use, "Paul could point away from the bewildering variety of the apocalyptic visions of the heavenly world to a single-minded devotion to the deity embodied in the Risen Christ." See also, Lohse, *Colossians*, 100 n. 46 that σωματικῶς in Hellenistic Greek "indicates corporeal reality."

current realities.¹³⁰ God continues to indwell Christ.¹³¹ Thus in 2:9, the πλήρωμα refers to God's indwelling the heavenly Christ, just as God indwelt Jesus while he walked on earth.¹³² But how does God's indwelling of Christ on earth and in heaven foreshadow and relate to the elect's new existence? In 2 Cor 3:17, Paul states, "Now the Lord is the Spirit," (ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν). In context, κύριος refers to Christ closely identifying Christ with the Spirit. In 2 Cor 5:5, Paul says that God gave "the Spirit as a guarantee" to the elect. Putting the two together, Christ('s Spirit) is the pledge of future glory. Colossians 1:27 reflects a similar thought which I will discuss shortly.

Based on this discussion, I return to 1:19. While σωματικῶς does not occur in 1:19, it is clear from the author's description of Christ's shed blood in crucifixion (1:20, 22; cf. 2:14), that Christ's σῶμα on earth was materially the same as the elect's σῶμα. It was a σῶμα τῆς σαρκός. Colossians 1:19, then, is particularly striking. God, indwelling the earthly Christ, reconciled the world.¹³³ Further, σῶμα τῆς σαρκός is

130. While noting four interpretations of σωματικῶς by the Church Fathers, Aletti, *Colossians*, 168–69 rightly concludes that context argues against 2:9 as referring to "by the incarnation" or "in the Church." With Christ's heavenly existence in view, σωματικῶς is with reference to God "fully" and "actually" indwelling Christ.

131. Rightly, Lohse, *Colossians*, 100 notes the author's "special emphasis" on the reality of present, bodily indwelling.

132. Whether "God" (implied subject) or πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα is the subject of the sentence, in the end, makes little difference. E.g., O'Brien, *Colossians*, 51–53 regards "all the fullness" as the subject concluding "God in all his divine essence and power had taken up residence in Christ." Cf. Sir 42:16. Moo, *Colossians*, 131–32 decides "all the fullness" is the subject, but concludes "this 'fullness,' as Colossians 2:9 makes clear, is the 'fullness of God,' or 'God in his fullness.'" That "God" is the assumed subject of εὐδοκέω, see discussion in Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 211–12. Also, Dunn, *Colossians*, 101. Likewise, Wilson, *Colossians*, 154. Helpfully, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 114 points out that "the participle εἰρηνοποιήσας (1:20b), dependant on the infinitive construction εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι, requires a masculine subject for the entire οτι-clause, which can be identified in the connection of 1:15-20 only with God meaningfully."

133. *Contra* Käsemann, "Primitive," 158 who argues that 1:19, and reconciliation, "is only properly comprehensible in a gnostic setting," and further, that πλήρωμα is "the all-embracing, all-uniting fullness of the new aeon." Following Bultmann, Käsemann, "Primitive," 155 argues 1:15-20 reflects a pre-Christian Gnostic Redeemer myth. This pre-Christian hymn, Käsemann, "Primitive," 149–54 argues was adapted into a liturgical hymn by the Christian community. Thus, to Käsemann, "Primitive," 159 in Col 1:15-20 Christ takes over The Universal Man of Gnosticism to become the cosmic "Cosmocrator." This interpretation should be rejected because: (1) Scholarship has rightly rejected a Gnostic backdrop to the NT. (2) The tenuous hypothesis by Käsemann of detecting redactional elements in 1:15-20 which arose from a Christian community who adapted the gnostic hymn to form a liturgical piece. *Contra* Käsemann on a Gnostic *Urmensch-Erlöser*, see Fossum, "Colossians" who argues that traditions in Judaism prior to Christ serve as the backdrop to Col 1:15-20. In these Early Jewish traditions, God is viewed in anthropomorphic terms

used here neutrally to indicate an “earthly” existence,¹³⁴ albeit one empowered by God’s indwelling Spirit.¹³⁵ In this way, God-in-Christ foreshadows the *permanent* indwelling of Christ(’s Spirit) within the earthly σῶμα of the elect. This indwelling, as I will discuss, dramatically changes the anthropology of the elect (cf. “new person”; Col 3:10) and serves as a protological foretaste of the new heavens and earth.

In Colossians 2:9, then, the author asserts that God *presently* dwells in the risen Christ who “bodily” (σωματικῶς) resides in the “heavenlies.” In this, Christ continues to function as the paradigm for the elect. The description of Christ as the “firstborn from the dead” (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, 1:18) implies that others, the elect, will follow.¹³⁶ The nature of the resurrected body is foreshadowed by Christ’s “heavenly” existence, one in which God “dwells” (cf. 1 Cor 15:40, “heavenly bodies,” σώματα ἐπουράνια).¹³⁷ Herein, it is implied that the elect will experience a bodily resurrection existence at his return.¹³⁸ As in 1 Cor 15, Christ, in “his present (heavenly) *somatic* existence,” serves as the image of the “new self” (τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον, 3:10) to which the elect are being conformed.¹³⁹ Christ, the image of God (1:15) and Creator (1:16), is the image into which the elect are being renewed,

and an intermediary figure, a heavenly Man, acts on behalf of God in creating the cosmos.

134. *Contra* Tannehill, *Dying*, 50 who asserts that in Colossians “body of flesh” is conceived of negatively. Incorrectly, Tannehill, *Dying*, 51 follows Bultmann in viewing Colossians against the backdrop of a Gnostic, dualistic mythology relying, like Bultmann, on the late Corpus Hermeticum as evidence for the idea of an inclusive man and inclusive body.

135. Cf. Matt 3:16, “the Spirit of God” ([τὸ] πνεῦμα [τοῦ] θεοῦ) coming upon Jesus at his baptism. This act, then, foreshadows Jesus’ promise of the Spirit dwelling within believers after his ascension, see John 14:17f.

136. Rightly, Still, “Eschatology,” 133. Cf. 1 Cor 15:20.

137. Cf. 1 Cor 15:44f. in which Paul answers the question (15:35) “With what kind of body?” are the dead raised. Paul distinguishes between a physical/natural body (σῶμα ψυχικός) of the first Adam and the spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικός) of the last Adam. In this, Paul does not use “spiritual” to denote non-bodily, but instead non-earthly, i.e. “the second man is from heaven” (ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ). As Fee, *Corinthians*, 788 notes, “the contrast between Adam and Christ is made in terms of the nature of the *humanity* [emphasis mine]: One by virtue of creation is “of earth,” the other by virtue of resurrection is “of heaven.”

138. Rightly, Still, “Eschatology,” 133 notes that Christ’s bodily resurrection implies believers’ bodily resurrection from the dead. See also 1 Cor 15:44f. in which σῶμα πνευματικόν is a heavenly body which, Lincoln, “Heavenlies,” 470 notes is not over against ‘material,’ but exists *spatially*.

139. Col 3:10, is similar to 1 Cor 15:48-49 where, as Fee, *Corinthians*, 788, 792–95 notes, believers “are being called to bear the image of the last Adam, which in its eschatological expression will be a ‘heavenly’ body such as he now has.”

that is “according to the image of its creator” (κατ’ εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν, 3:10). Whether on “earth” or in “heaven,” Christ exists bodily and provides the paradigm of what it means to be fully human with God indwelling the σῶμα.

5.4.3.2 The μυστήριον of Christ in the Elect (1:27; 2:10)

With the *promise* of God indwelling the elect foreshadowed by Christ, I now turn to Col 1:27, 29; 2:10 (cf. 1:11) where the author asserts that Christ indwells the elect’s σῶμα just as “the fullness of God” dwelt/dwells in him.

In Col 1:26, the author proclaims that the “mystery” (μυστήριον) hidden throughout the ages has been “revealed” (ἀποκρύπτω) to the elect. Revelation of heavenly mysteries is a theme which pervades EJL as well as the Pauline corpus.¹⁴⁰ For example, the Wisdom of Solomon states that the ungodly “did not know the secret mysteries of God” (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ) and thus failed to discern a *future* prize/reward for blameless souls (Wis 2:22). Like Wisdom, the author of Colossians writes to the elect about the μυστήριον of God, a future salvation. But, in contrast to Wisdom, the author emphasizes that this μυστήριον is *presently* available. The elect have “knowledge of the mystery of God” (ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ) in Christ (2:2). This μυστήριον clearly centers on the “gospel” (εὐαγγέλιον, 1:5), God’s hidden plan of salvation in Christ (cf. 1 Pet 1:10-12).¹⁴¹ The author also asserts that this μυστήριον is “Christ in you” (ὃ ἐστὶν Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, 1:27). Reception of the gospel results in union of the elect with Christ and each other (cf. βαπτισμός συν-, 2:12-13; 3:1-4). Thus, the μυστήριον of God transforms νυνί (“now”; 1:22; 3:8).

The author asserts that the elect experience an intimacy with Christ through his indwelling presence like that of Christ with God while on earth. Some scholars, such as

140. See Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 7–128. On the semitic background of μυστήριον, see Brown, *Semitic*. In Paul, see Carson, “Variegated, Vol. 2”. Exhaustive treatment in EJL and Colossians, see Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery*, 156–65.

141. See also, Matt 11:25; 13:35; Mark 4:11; Luke 8:10; John 6:45; Acts 1:7; 2:23; 3:18; 17:2-3; 18:28; Rom 16:25-26; 1 Cor 2:7; 15:3; Eph 3:9; 1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 1:9.

Lohse, however, contend that Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν (1:27) “does not mean the pneumatic indwelling of the Lord in the hearts of the believers,” but instead refers to the proclamation of the gospel “among” the Gentiles.¹⁴² I agree that this is the meaning of the first occurrence of ἐν (1:27a); however, the second occurrence (1:27b) should be translated differently. In context, the second usage indicates “the state of being filled with or gripped by something in one’s innermost being.”¹⁴³

Four arguments favor a reading of “within you.” Firstly, ἐν occurs twice in 1:29 to clarify the μυστήριον. God has made known the μυστήριον “among the Gentiles” (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν), a point made in the first half of the verse. However, syntactically, the second ἐν makes a separate, albeit related, point.¹⁴⁴ The μυστήριον contains both individual and corporate aspects, namely ἐν means both “among you,” conveying that salvation includes the Gentiles, and “within you,” denoting a personal experience.¹⁴⁵

Secondly, as Lightfoot noted, context indicates that a primary emphasis of “within you” is the more probable interpretation.¹⁴⁶ This reflects the broader NT idea of Christ indwelling believers, the basis for union with Christ. While the typical Pauline formulation is “the Spirit in us” (e.g., Rom 8:9, 11, 15-16, 23, 26; cf. 1 Cor 2:12; 3:16), the reverse imagery, albeit rare, is also found in ‘Paul’ to articulate the intimate relationship between Christ and his people (e.g., Rom 8:10; 2 Cor 13:5; Gal 2:20; 4:19; cf. Eph 3:17).¹⁴⁷

Thirdly, the broader theme in Colossians of “divine immanence,” God in Christ

142. See Lohse, *Colossians*, 76. In agreement, Schweizer, *Colossians*, 109; Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 102; Pokorný, *Colossians*, 103; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 265; Aletti, *Colossiens*, 141–42.

143. See *BDAG*, entry 2581, and similarly ἐν as a “marker of close association within a limit, in.” Cf. Col 1:16; 2:3, 9; 3:3.

144. Otherwise, the second ἐν “weakens the train of thought,” notes Dunn, *Colossians*, 123 and adds hardly anything to the first phrase “among the nations.”

145. See Harris, *Colossians*, 71. So too Sumney, *Colossians*, 106 who suggests allowing “some multivalence to the expression.”

146. Citing Rom 8:10; 2 Cor 13:5; Gal 4:19 as evidence, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 167.

147. Moo, *Colossians*, 159.

(cf. 1:19), points toward Christ “within you.”¹⁴⁸ This conclusion is strengthened by the author’s description of divine enablement. In the undisputed Pauline epistles, ἐνέργεια is associated with God’s supernatural enabling power.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the author of Colossians attributes ἐνέργεια to God, “the power of God” (ἐνέργεια τοῦ θεοῦ) which raised Christ from the dead (2:12).¹⁵⁰ Remarkably, in 1:29 Christ possesses this supernatural power (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ); moreover, this supernatural power is “within” (ἐν) the author (τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν δυνάμει) enabling him to fulfill his apostolic ministry. A few verses earlier, the author indicated that the elect are also enabled by divine agency (ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι κατὰ τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, 1:11).¹⁵¹ The conduit of God’s power is Christ’s indwelling presence which enables the elect to walk worthy of the Lord (1:10).

Fourthly, 1:27 concludes by noting that the μυστήριον, Christ *within* you, is “the hope of glory.”¹⁵² Here, the author links the presence of the indwelling Christ to a future “hope” stored in the “heavenlies” (1:5; cf. 3:24). As in 2 Cor 1:22 (cf. Eph 1:14), where Paul refers to the indwelling of the Spirit as a “pledge” (ἀρραβὼν), Christ’s indwelling foretells of a future κληρονομία, “the hope of the gospel” (1:23; cf. 3:24). Thus, while ἐν refers to the proclamation of the message of Christ “among” the Gentiles in 1:27a, ἐν refers to Christ “within” the elect as the transformative agent in 1:27b.¹⁵³

148. Dunn, *Colossians*, 122.

149. E.g. Phil 2:13, “For it is God who is at work in you” (θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν, cf. Phil 3:21). That ἐνέργεια, in NT, is always with reference to the working, operation, action of transcendent beings, see *BDAG*, entry 2637.

150. See Dunn, *Colossians*, 127 who also notes the verbal idea (ἐνεργέω) in 1 Cor 12:6, 11; Gal 2:8; Phil 2:13. Cf. Eph 1:19; 3:7; 4:16; Col 2:12.

151. Connecting ἐνέργεια in 1:29, as in 1:11, with “the causal power of God” (die ursächliche Kraft Gottes), see Dübbers, *Christologie*, 167.

152. C.f. Rom 8:10ff. where Christ’s indwelling correlates with the Spirit as a pledge of future glory.

153. In agreement, O’Brien, *Colossians*, 87; N. T. Wright, *Colossians*, 96; Arnold, *Syncretism*, 272–73; Dunn, *Colossians*, 123; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 82; Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 179–80; Moo, *Colossians*, 159. Difficulty in articulating different uses of ἐν can lead to confusion, as seen for example in that, Bruce, *Colossians*, 86 translates ἐν as “among” in the body of his commentary leading, I suspect, Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 185 n. 41 to cite Bruce as evidence for “among.” However, Bruce, *Colossians*, 86 also says that “the indwelling Christ and the indwelling Spirit are practically interchangeable thoughts for Paul,” concluding that in Col 1:26–27

The causal conjunction ὅτι opening 2:9 signals that the grounds for the elect being able to walk worthy (2:6) are the transformative indwelling of God in Christ (2:9) and Christ in the elect (2:10). Rhetorically and theologically, the emphasis in 2:10 is the present effect of the Christ-event. Playing off πλήρωμα in 1:19, the author asserts by using the perfect tense of πληρόω that the elect “have been filled,” indicating a completed act of God with present effects, namely the on-going state of the new existence in which the elect experience the “fullness” of God, that is Christ(’s Spirit) within them.¹⁵⁴ Subsequently, no deeper spiritual experience is possible than that “in Christ” and one should not be sought.¹⁵⁵

This conclusion fits well within the rhetoric of 2:6-10. In context, the author has just exhorted right behavior (2:6) and dismissed the opponents’ empty, deceitful teaching as providing no basis for carrying out the exhortation (2:8). The author’s reason: their teaching is “not according to Christ” (οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν, 2:8) because (ὅτι, 2:9) it fails to recognize the transformative and all-sufficient effects of the presence of God within the elect. In this way, the author refutes any need for prescriptions from the opponents and ameliorates any fears that the “powers” are a threat.¹⁵⁶ Just as God *presently* dwells in Christ, Christ *presently* dwells in the elect; therefore, the elect experience the presence and power of God *within* them just as Christ did in his earthly ministry! The effect of this is that the negative σάρξ, an apocalyptic power within humankind, has been defeated and removed, (“circumcised,” περιτέμνω) by Christ (2:11) rendering the opponents’ prescriptions useless. To this, I now turn.

“the emphasis is . . . on his indwelling in *Gentile* believers.”

154. In agreement, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 218f that ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι is a divine passive indicating God’s initiative in “filling.” Cf. 1:22, ἀποκατήλλαγθε “you were reconciled” as original and also a second person plural divine passive.

155. Rightly, Moo, *Colossians*, 195.

156. That 2:9-10 (cf. 1:19) may echo language of the opponents, see Moo, *Colossians*, 196 who notes Christ as “head” of all ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας “confirms that Paul still has the false teachers very much in view.”

5.4.4 Circumcision of the σάρξ (2:11-13; cf. 1:15-20, 21-22)

The indwelling of Christ(’s Spirit) in the σῶμα of the elect results in the transformation of the elect’s σάρξ, effectively removing the negative σάρξ of the elect “in Christ.” In the next chapter, I will provide evidence within EJJ of a similar view that the elect are not a people of the σάρξ but are enabled to gain knowledge of the “mystery” leading to right behavior. Here, I seek to delineate this view in Colossians.

The author writes, “In him also you were circumcised with a spiritual circumcision, by putting off the body of the flesh in the circumcision of Christ” (ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2:11). This description of circumcision is found nowhere else in the NT and has led some scholars to posit that it arose from scribal emendations.¹⁵⁷ Yet, internal and external evidence supports the reading of the critical text.¹⁵⁸ I will examine the phrases in Col 2:11 in the following order: firstly, σώματος τῆς σαρκός; secondly, περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ; and thirdly, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Firstly, what is meant by the statement that circumcision is by “removal” (ἀπέκδυσις) of “the body of flesh” (τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός)? Scholars are divided on this issue and generally fall into two opinions. If the “removal” (ἀπέκδυσις) is with reference to the elect, the author clearly does not have the physical σάρξ in view because the elect continue to exist on earth. Instead, “removal” (“circumcision”) refers to the negative σάρξ of the elect. On the other hand, if the “removal” applies to Christ, then the author is utilizing circumcision metaphorically to refer to the cross and Jesus’ death.¹⁵⁹

157. O’Neill, “Source,” 97.

158. The reading in the critical text receives no comment in Metzger, *Textual* due to early and significant manuscript attestation, e.g. \mathfrak{P}^{46} \aleph^* A B C D*.

159. O’Brien, *Colossians*, 116.

Five pieces of evidence support an interpretation meaning “removal” of the elect’s negative σάρξ. Firstly, the phrase τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός does not occur in the undisputed Pauline epistles or in the LXX.¹⁶⁰ In EJL, the phrase occurs once in the Greek text of *I En.* 102:5 referring to life in a corporeal body during time on earth.¹⁶¹ The first use of the phrase in the NT is in Col 1:22 to foreground the *fleshly body* of Christ in crucifixion, and, as in *I En.* 102:5, conveys existence in the “earthly” realm within a corporeal body of σάρξ (bearing no negative connotation). On these two points, it would appear that σάρξ refers to a literal body of flesh and blood. However, this is not the case. In Col 2:11, it is the elect, not Christ, who are in view. This is indicated by the author beginning the sentence with the second person plural, “you were circumcised.” The topic at hand centers on the *elect*’s circumcision. Secondly, τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός lacks the modifier “his” (αὐτοῦ) indicating that the phrase, like the proceeding verb, applies to the recipients, not to Christ.¹⁶² Thirdly, nowhere else in Scripture is Jesus’ death understood as circumcision.¹⁶³ As Gnllka rightly observes, describing the cross as “cutting” (*Beschneidung*) would be “incomprehensible” (*unverständliche*) to the recipients.¹⁶⁴ Fourthly, interpretation of the phrase as the stripping of Christ’s physical body and the “powers” associated with the old aeon relies upon unsubstantiated theories of a Gnostic Redeemer myth and/or Hellenistic mythology and should be dismissed.¹⁶⁵ Fifthly, circumcision as an internal, spiritual circumcision of the heart is a theme evident in the HB (Deut 30:6, applied to

160. See, Meyer, “σάρξ,” *TDNT* 7:136. Although the phrase σῶμα σαρκός occurs in Sir 23:17, it refers simply to “near of kin” (NRSV).

161. See Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 499 that “the Greek text is either a single translation of ‘the body of your flesh’” or, “alternatively the Greek text has glossed ‘your body’ [Ethiopic text] by defining it as an earthly one (i.e. ‘of the flesh’).”

162. Although arriving at a different conclusion, Moule, *Colossians*, 95 rightly notes the force of this argument.

163. See Pokorný, *Colossians*, 124. *Contra* Moule, *Colossians*, 96; O’Brien, *Colossians*, 117.

164. See, Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 132. The near incomprehensible meaning is compounded if, as Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 368 argue, Gentiles not only would have had to make the unknown association of “circumcision of Christ” with the death of Jesus but also understand “his circumcision” as “their circumcision also.”

165. Lack of evidence for a Gnostic background to 1:19; 2:9-10 undercuts arguments by Käsemann, “Primitive,” 162 and Tannehill, *Dying*, 47–51.

Israel; Ezek 44:7, 9, applied to Gentiles), in EJJ (*Jub.* 1:23, applied to Israel), in the DSS (למול ביחד עורלת יצר, “to circumcise in unitedness [Community] the foreskin of tendency,” 1QS V 5) and in the Pauline epistles (Rom 2:28-29; Phil 3).¹⁶⁶ These factors indicate that the author of Colossians is speaking of the elect in both “you were circumcised” and “in the removal of the body of flesh.” It is the negative σάρξ, that aspect of humankind which is subject to the power of sin, that has been removed from the elect by Christ.

That it is God who accomplishes the elect’s circumcision supports this conclusion. The phrase “not made by human hand” (ἀχειροποιήτω), stresses divine rather than human agency,¹⁶⁷ an emphasis which fits extremely well in a passage (2:11-15) stressing divine initiative through the repetition of the passive voice.¹⁶⁸ In this context, “done without hands,” differentiates the work of God from the Jewish practice of “circumcision.” While the author recognizes circumcision as a physical marker of ethnicity,¹⁶⁹ he indicates there are no such distinctions “in Christ” (Col 3:11).¹⁷⁰

Emphasizing divine agency, the author juxtaposes Jewish circumcision with God’s work *by* Christ in an allusion to Jewish circumcision through the phrase περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ (cf. Gen 17:13).¹⁷¹ Then, the author sets aside physical circumcision by: firstly, referring to circumcision as “without hands” (ἀχειροποιήτω), and secondly, associating circumcision as “by Christ” (ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ

166. See Bruce, *Colossians*, 103 that Deut 30:6 is most representative of Col 2:11 in that the people are passive in spiritual circumcision, and God is the active subject (cf. Deut 10:16; Jer 4:4). That “circumcision of the heart - is a sign of belonging to the people of God,” see Pokorný, *Colossians*, 124. Rightly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 129 notes the genitive τῆς σαρκός (2:11) is not physical as in 1:22.

167. Rightly, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 317. Cf. 2 Cor 5:1.

168. E.g., (“you have been brought to fullness,” 2:10; “you were circumcised,” 2:11; “you were buried . . . you were raised,” 2:12), as observed by Knowles, “Discipleship,” 189.

169. Cf. 4:11, Justus is described as a Jew by the idiom οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς.

170. Rightly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 226. Cf. Phil 3:3.

171. Helpfully, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 227 n. 127 draws attention to LXX Gen 17:13 περιτομῇ περιτμηθήσεται, the Greek translation for the Hebrew infinitive המול טמול.

Χριστου).¹⁷² The elect, then, *are* circumcised, although not physically. Their circumcision is “of Christ,” a change to the elect given by Christ.¹⁷³ This contrast in 2:11 between internal circumcision and external circumcision reflects aspects of Paul’s rhetoric in Rom 2:28-29.¹⁷⁴

There Paul distinguishes between an external Jew (circumcision in the ἐν σαρκί) and an internal Jew (circumcision of the heart ἐν πνεύματι). Paul’s contrast between an external marker to the foreskin created through human agency and internal transformation wrought by the Spirit of God/Christ is especially clear in the Greek οὐ-ἀλλά construction:

οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖος ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομή καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματα,

True circumcision, writes Paul, is “not” (οὐ) “circumcision in the flesh” (ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή) “but” (ἀλλ’) is “circumcision of the heart by the Spirit” (περιτομή καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι).¹⁷⁵ As Barclay points out, this juxtaposition of two circumcisions is not unique in Jewish literature (e.g., Jer 9:25-26; Ezek 44:7, 9), but Paul’s radical antithesis in Rom 2:28-29 not only widens heart circumcision to include Gentiles, but also renders physical circumcision “a disposable phenomenon for justified Gentiles.”¹⁷⁶ Further, Paul indicates that the new eschatological age includes the presence of the πνεῦμα of God/Christ at work within the elect.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, in Col 2:11, the author

172. Taking the genitive as instrumental due to context. As Moule, “Fulness,” 82 writes, “a genitive like ‘of Christ’ must often be interpreted largely by the context and the probabilities,” as cited in Barclay, *Obedying*, 134 n. 93.

173. Rightly, Harris, *Colossians*, 103 concludes, 2:11 contrasts “an inward, spiritual act carried out by divine agency” over against “an external, physical act performed by human hands.” See also Schweizer, *Colossians*, 143.

174. *Contra* Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 366. On the parallel between Col 2:11 and Rom 2:29, see Dübbers, *Christologie*, 234.

175. In Rom 2:28-29 (cf. Phil 3:3-4), Barclay, *Obedying*, 178, 180 n. 4 rightly notes “a contrast between Jewish privileges (especially circumcision) and Christian life ‘in the Spirit’” and notes “the connection between circumcision and flesh,” a consistent theme in Jewish literature citing Gen 17:11, 13, 14, 23-25; cf. Ezek 44:7, 9; Lev 12:3; see also Sir 44:20; Jdt 14:10; *Jub.* 15:13-33; 4 *Ezra* 1:31.

176. Barclay, “Circumcision,” 552, 555.

177. In agreement with Barclay, “Circumcision,” 553-54.

refers to physical circumcision (περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ), and then sets it aside by describing the recipients' circumcision as divinely wrought (ἀχειροποιήτω) by Christ (ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ). Christ's presence at work within the elect has transformed them, destroying the power of the negative σάρξ (cf. Rom 6:6).¹⁷⁸

However, some argue that divine agency is also emphasized in the “stripping/removal” of Christ's “body of flesh” in death.¹⁷⁹ Such an interpretation does not account for the rhetorical flow of 2:6-15. The author's emphasis is on the indwelling presence of the risen Christ, not his death. Interpretation of 2:11 is greatly clarified by recognizing its placement in the middle of 2:6-15, a collection of verses which provide the basis for the elect “walking” rightly (2:6).

Colossians 2:11 must be interpreted within the author's larger rhetorical movement. In 2:6, the author exhorts the recipients to “walk” (περιπατέω) “in him” (2:6-7), Christ Jesus, while taking care to avoid the pitfalls of the opponents' “philosophy” (2:8). The enabler to fulfill this exhortation arrives in 2:11, namely that Christ('s Spirit) indwells the σῶμα of the elect.¹⁸⁰ Thus, the antecedent for ἐν ᾧ (“in whom,” 2:11) the elect were filled is Christ Jesus (2:6). The author's rhetoric underscores the centrality of Christ's “indwelling,” a key to correctly interpreting 2:6-15.¹⁸¹ The opponents prescribe worthless traditions in subservience to the “powers” because they have failed not only to grasp Christ's victory over the “powers” but also his indwelling of the elect (2:9-10). The effect of Christ's victory and indwelling is that power of the negative σάρξ has been defeated and the σάρξ of the elect has been

178. In agreement with, Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 132 that “body of flesh” (*Fleischesleib*) equates to “body of sin” (*Leib der Sünde*) in Rom 6:6. Thus, “body of flesh” means affiliation to the worldly sphere (*die Zugehörigkeit des Menschen zur Weltsphäre*), and subjection under powers enslaving it (*sein Unterworfensein unter die ihn versklavenden Mächte*). See also, Dunn, *Paul*, 65 on Rom 2:28 as evidence for removal of the negative force of σάρξ.

179. Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 365.

180. That circumcision in 2:11 indicates the negative flesh has been subdued, see Moo, *Colossians*, 197.

181. See Harris, *Colossians*, 101. Likewise, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 229 n. 135 renders the relative pronoun ἐν ᾧ instrumentally, i.e. the agency of Christ, like ἐν αὐτῷ (2:6, 7, 9, 10, 15).

removed. Thus, having received Christ, the elect may “walk in Him” (2:6), that is walk in a manner worthy of the Lord (1:10).

5.4.4.1 Participating (συν-) in Christ’s Death and Resurrection

The indwelling of Christ, and thereby believer’s union with him, is depicted lastly through baptism and the use of the συν- compound.¹⁸² Participatory union of the elect with Christ is stressed repeatedly in 2:6-13.¹⁸³ Having noted that an aspect of the μυστήριον is “Christ *within* you” (1:27; cf. 2:10), the author permeates 2:6-11 with language of participatory union, i.e. the elect are connected to/with/in Christ.¹⁸⁴ The next two verses (2:12-13) explicate this core aspect of the author’s theology closing in a powerful crescendo with the metaphor of baptism with Christ.

The author’s reference to “uncircumcision of your flesh” in 2:13 in the context of his discussion on baptism should not determine interpretation of 2:11. Some scholars argue that physical flesh is in view in both verses, and that one of the causes of “being dead” rests in τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν (2:13), a label for Gentiles outside of God’s covenant community due to their uncircumcised foreskins. Thus, “circumcision of your flesh” in 2:11 refers to the stripping of Jesus’ physical flesh in death and “uncircumcision of your flesh” in 2:13 refers to the physical flesh of Gentiles.¹⁸⁵ But as I argued above, 2:11 speaks metaphorically of σάρξ, as the negative aspect of humankind belonging to the “earthly” sphere enslaving humanity and representing a power in and of itself. Therefore, σάρξ can (and does) refer to the

182. That participation “in Christ” is core to Colossians, see Bevere, *Sharing*, 164–74. That it is core to Pauline ethics in general, see Mohrlang, *Comparison*, 83. Demonstrated as core to Galatians, see Barclay, *Obedying*.

183. E.g., ἐν αὐτῷ, 2:6, 7, 9, 10, 15; ἐν ᾧ, 2:11; ἐν . . . Χριστοῦ, 2:11; συνταφέντες αὐτῷ, 2:12; ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνεγέρθητε, 2:12; συνεζωοποίησεν ὑμᾶς σὺν αὐτῷ, 2:13.

184. Rightly, Sappington, *Revelation*, 185–86 connects “mystery” to present union with Christ which holds the promise of future glory.

185. For example, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 366 understands “of the flesh” literally in 1:22; 2:11, 13. Thus, he interprets 2:13 to mean Gentiles as “being dead” from both “sins” and *literal* uncircumcision. See also Dunn, *Colossians*, 157, 163.

negative σάρξ in Col 2:11 regardless of whether σάρξ in 2:13 refers to Gentiles (physical uncircumcision) or to a state of spiritual uncircumcision (being under the power of sin).

The author may be referring to Gentiles by way of “in the uncircumcision (ἀκροβυστία) of your flesh” which strengthens reading 2:11 as referring to spiritual circumcision.¹⁸⁶ If physical “flesh,” and thus Gentiles, is in view, then the author is once again emphasizing God’s agency to those once considered outside God’s people. But this need not imply that a debate over covenant status was “bubbling” in Colossae. Such a view may be the result of reading Ephesians into Colossians (cf. Eph 2:11) and/or mirror-reading “circumcision” to indicate a “light” polemic in “some debate with Jews in Colossae.”¹⁸⁷ If such a debate existed, it was light indeed, for the author writes warmly of the Colossians’ faith (1:4, 6, 8; 2:6), does not mention Jew/Gentile discord, nor warn against falling prey to Judaizers (cf. Gal 5:2-12; Phil 3). If physical circumcision had been advocated by the opponents (or another antagonistic Jewish group), it is hard to explain its absence in the polemics of 2:16-23.¹⁸⁸ Cumulatively, then, the evidence points against viewing circumcision in 2:11 and 2:13 as related to even a “light” debate with Jews in Colossae.¹⁸⁹

5.4.4.2 Absence of Psychological Dualism: Defeat of the σάρξ/Death to ἐπιθυμίας

186. That ἀκροβυστία in the NT is used with reference to *physical* uncircumcision, usually as a label for Gentiles, cf. Acts 11:3; Rom. 2:25; 3:30; 4:9; 1 Co. 7:18; Gal. 2:7; 5:6; 6:15; Eph. 2:11; Col. 2:13; 3:11; See *BDAG*, entry 290.

187. Dunn, *Colossians*, 156.

188. Rightly noted by Moo, *Colossians*, 197.

189. On four inherent pitfalls to mirror-reading, see Barclay, “Mirror-Reading,” 260–62 who proposes seven criteria for interpreting a polemical text. In Colossians, I note: the casual “tone” (second criterion) indicates circumcision was not an issue, the “frequency” (third criterion) of the author’s discussion of circumcision indicates it was a non-issue, and, the lack of “clarity” (fourth criterion) in the statements regarding circumcision degrades any confidence of a polemic.

The author does not view the body of the elect as a battleground for interior ἐπιθυμίας because the σάρξ has been removed in the new existence. Instead of debates regarding physical circumcision, the author's rhetoric reflects disagreements on spiritual fullness and the ability to live rightly. Having refuted the opponents' teaching οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν by discussing the new existence (2:8-15), the author opens 2:16 with "therefore" (οὖν) to indicate that what follows are the implications for the recipients.

Thus, in 2:16-17, he dismisses criticism (κρίνω) lodged at the recipients for failing to observe "dietary rules and festival days." These are mere "shadows" of the age to come which is proleptically experienced "in Christ" (2:16-17).¹⁹⁰ The author caustically denounces the opponent's erroneous connection between θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων and spiritual fullness, labeling such teaching as the product of a "fleshly mind" unconnected to Christ (2:18-19).¹⁹¹ The opponent's regulations such as "Do not handle, Do not taste, Do not touch," (Μὴ ἅψη μηδὲ γεύση μηδὲ θίγῃς, 2:21-22; cf. 2:16) are similarly rejected because believers "in Christ" no longer live under the authority of the στοιχεῖα (2:20). Prescriptions such as "severe treatment of the body" (ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος, 2:23) indicate that the opponents viewed the body negatively seeking to control "evil desire" (ἐπιθυμία κακή) caused by the σάρξ through asceticism.¹⁹² The author denounces such traditions as "commandments and teachings"

190. On the Jewish background to these regulations and festivals, see Dunn, *Colossians*, 171. Cf. Heb 6:5; 10:1 that μέλλω refers to the "age to come."

191. I note that θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων may refer to worship *of* and worship *with* the angels, see Rowland, "Visions," 75 nn. 16–17. Helpfully, Stuckenbruck, "Colossians," 121 nn. 14, 16 notes that some Jewish apocalyptic documents contain references to *both* angelic worship of God and seer's veneration of angels. E.g., Tob. 11:14-15 (both recensions) alongside 12:16; *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400 2.1-2 and 4Q403 1 i.32-3), and *Asc. Isa.* 7:15, 21; 8:4-5, as cited by Cf. Stuckenbruck, *Angel*, 119. See also, Stuckenbruck, "Worship". Also see Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery*, 30–31.

192. In examining the linguistic background, Reicke, "Kol. 2:23," 46–47 concludes that ταπεινοφροσύνη means "asceticism" and ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος means "mortification of the body" (*Kasteiung des Leibes*). In agreement with Metzger, *Textual*, 556 that [καί] after ταπεινοφροσύνη (before ἀφειδίᾳ) is original, but accidentally omitted, on the basis of its early attestation (e.g., P⁴⁶ B 1739). *Contra* Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 159 n. 16. With καί, ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος is a separate, albeit appositional, thought. See also, Moo, *Colossians*, 241 n. 215. As Harris, *Colossians*, 132 points out, "without the καί . . . ἀφειδίᾳ is probably epex. appos. . . or possibly is an instr. dat." In either case, asceticism is indicated as a core prescription.

of men (2:22; cf. 2:8).¹⁹³ While the prescriptions seem to possess wisdom (μὲν ἔχοντα σοφίας, 2:23), the author proclaims them worthless,¹⁹⁴ and “of no value in stopping the indulgence of the flesh” (οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ τινι πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός, 2:23b).¹⁹⁵

In contrast, the author views the σῶμα of the elect positively because the negative σάρξ has been removed.¹⁹⁶ This transformation is a work of God *by* Christ indwelling the σῶμα of the elect.¹⁹⁷ The result is an end to the “old person” and the creation of the “new person” (3:9-10).¹⁹⁸ This reasoning is found within the Pauline epistles where Paul connects reconciliation by God in Christ and the indwelling of Christ(’s Spirit) with believers becoming “new”.¹⁹⁹ As a result, the author declares, believers may “put to death” (νεκρώω) “evil desire” ἐπιθυμία κακή, that part of their

193. That this refers to “traditions hallowed by antiquity” on offer by the opponents, and that this phrase echoes: the condemnation in LXX Isa 29:13, the legalism of the Pharisees (e.g. Mark 7:7), and the warning in Titus 1:14 against “Jewish myths” and “commandments of men,” see Lohse, *Colossians*, 124. Noting that Isa 29:13 is the only place in the LXX where ἔνταλμα and διδασκαλία occur together, see Sumney, *Colossians*, 163–64.

194. *Contra* Reicke, “Kol. 2:23,” 43 who interprets μὲν not as a correlative, marking a contrast, but instead like a particle used to add emphasis. In agreement with Harris, *Colossians*, 131 who notes that grammatically “μὲν points to the contrast between . . . the ostensible wisdom of the ascetic regulations and their lack of actual value.”

195. *Contra*, Reicke, “Kol. 2:23,” 41, also Hollenbach, “Col 2:23,” 258, and for example Sumney, *Colossians*, 164–69, that regulations “lead, . . . , to the fulfillment of the flesh.” In agreement with Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 205–6 that no human prescriptions can stop the “coarse sensual indulgences of the flesh” (πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός). In such a view and *contra*, Hanssler, “Satzkonstruktion,” 144 πρὸς is not “compared with” (*im Vergleich zu*), but instead, and in agreement with Moo, *Colossians*, 241–42 n. 216, πρὸς is best translated as “against” meaning “stopping.” Yet, even if one adopts the view of Hollenbach, *et. al*, my argument is unaffected. For as Sumney, *Colossians*, 167 concludes, “These regulations . . . rather than controlling untoward desires, they actually inflame them.” In either translation, the Colossian author accuses the opponents of failed prescriptions to control the “flesh.”

196. The earlier view of Dunn, *Baptism*, 153 in which the “body of flesh” (2:11) equates to “body of sin” (Rom 6:6) and “body of death” (Rom 7:24). Fine scholars are not only divided on this, but do change their minds over time! See Dunn, *Colossians*, 157 n. 20.

197. Connecting baptism, participation “in Christ,” and removal of the fleshly nature, see Arnold, *Syncretism*, 297. See also Engberg-Pedersen, “Material,” 190–91 that to Paul indwelling of God’s “*pneuma* eradicates what constitutes the physical basis for sarkic, sinful desires and practices.”

198. Rightly, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 230 says, “Damit ist nicht bloß eine äußerliche Veränderung gemeint, sondern die gesamte alte Existenz der Adressaten ist durch das Entkleiden vernichtet worden.”

199. Cf. Rom 8:10; 2 Cor 5:17-19. That indwelling results in a “*pneumatological restoration*,” see Hubbard, *New Creation*, 235. Similarly, Engberg-Pedersen, “Material,” 192 that the ‘apocalyptic’ power of sin is solved cosmologically. Believers “have Christ’s *pneuma*; Christ is in them,” resulting in “death” (νεκρόν) to the mortal body.

existence which is associated with the earthly sphere (τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 3:5) and the “old person.”

The ground to “walk” rightly (2:6) then, is the defeat of the powers, indwelling of Christ, and removal of the negative σάρξ. The opponent’s “philosophy” fails to account for these cosmological and anthropological realities which include the striking dissolution of the cosmological barrier. The “heavenlies” are near indeed with the *interiorization* of Christ(’s Spirit) resulting in the removal of “the body of the flesh.” No longer a “fleshly people” but a “spiritual people” by way of spiritual circumcision, the elect have the ability to “put to death” evil desires and gain understanding of the “mystery” that enables living rightly.

As I will discuss in the next chapter, *4QInstruction*, a text from EJJ reflects a similar pattern of thought. The elect, “a spiritual people” freed from the “flesh,” do not struggle with interior evil desires and are exhorted to seek understanding of the mystery to live rightly. The ungodly, however, are “fleshly in spirit” and characterized by psychological dualism, the incapacity to meditate on the mystery, and the inability to walk rightly. Next, I will briefly highlight the corporate dimension of the “new person.”

5.4.5 Transformed into the One σῶμα of Christ (2:19; 1:18; cf. 1:24; 3:15)

The author utilizes the metaphor of believers as the “body” of Christ to communicate that the elect are a new *corporate* eschatological reality “in Christ.” Having exhorted the recipients to ignore the opponents’ criticisms and prescriptions (2:16-18), the author lodges a criticism of his own, namely that the opponents’ have lost connection to Christ, the κεφαλή (2:19). Within antiquity, the “head” metaphor, communicates both leadership and source of provision illuminating Christ’s function for the church, his “body” (1:18; 24; 3:15).²⁰⁰

200. On the head/body metaphor in Hippocrates, Plato, Galen, and Philo as background for

While scholarship agrees that the metaphor depicts the corporate dimension of the new existence, it disagrees on how to define the nature of that existence. A. Schweitzer helpfully explains that “the Community of God” exists in fellowship with the Messiah in the natural world prior to the realization of the Kingdom. But, he incorrectly bases this on “the conception of the predestined solidarity of the Elect with one another and with Christ” instead of recognizing that fellowship flows out of union with Christ through his indwelling presence.²⁰¹ Thus, his nebulous label of “Christ-Mysticism” proves untenable. Sanders also correctly interprets participatory language in Paul (with implications for Colossians). But it is not necessary to posit as he does a sharp distinction between a figure of speech and something that is “real.”²⁰² For the author, the body metaphor depicts reality. My goal here is not to parse the distinction between literal and metaphorical language. The point is simply that the author’s language depicts the reality of the new existence as a corporate agent.²⁰³

J. Louis Martyn wisely recognizes this and calls scholarship to study the corporate dimension of Pauline anthropology, i.e. the dynamic nature of the Christian community, the body of Christ, in which the power of God is at work to make all believers “complete” in Christ recreated in the image of God.²⁰⁴ Although Martyn focuses on the “undisputed” Pauline letters, his thoughts bear heavily on Colossians, an epistle that shares similar concerns.

Martyn argues that in the “*logos tou staurou*” God acts upon the sinful, individual, Adamic agent to create “*the corporate, newly competent and newly addressable agent*,” forming this new human agent in the image of the crucified

Col 2:19, see Arnold, “Head,” 360.

201. Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 105, 117.

202. Sanders, *Paul*, 455.

203. Helpfully, Perriman, “Metaphor,” 127 discusses how “a *real* relationship might be expressed by means of the metaphor” which is, I argue, the case in Colossians. However, it is not necessary to precisely define the nature of that reality here. It is sufficient for my purposes to note that the author indicates the *reality* which is the body of Christ.

204. Martyn, “Epilogue,” 179 n. 18.

Son.”²⁰⁵ Martyn draws out the uniqueness of Paul’s paraenetic language that describes the newly created human agent as the community itself:

The Israel of God (Gal 6:16), this newly competent and *corporate* agent, is the only agent that can be effectively addressed with hortatory and imperative verbs; for, as noted, it is into the heart of this agent that God has sent the Spirit of his Son, specifically the *pneuma tou estaurômenou*, thus *reforming* the human agent by communally *forming* Christ in that agent, the church (Gal 4:19; Rom 8:29). The newly created, corporate agent is fundamentally distinguished, then, from the Adamic agent, the latter failing to be -- in Paul’s theology -- addressable in paraenetic language. Here we find a sharp contrast with Sirach and Epictetus, both of whom - as Second Temple and Hellenistic examples - address in the hortatory and imperative moods the individual Adamic agent, the figure assumed to be competent as he stands before the two ways.²⁰⁶

The significance of Martyn’s analysis is two-fold. Firstly, he recognizes the impact of the Christ-event on anthropology, namely, the radical redefinition of the individual human agent. Secondly, Martyn rightly argues that the focus of inquiry must account for the newly competent corporate agent.²⁰⁷ This does not diminish the agency of the individual agent, but instead places that agency within the context of mutuality. Christ’s indwelling of individual believers transforms their σῶμα into an inter-connected and inter-dependent “body,” “which is the church” ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία (Col 1:24). As one eschatological body (3:15), united by the love which the Spirit gives (1:8), believers are exhorted corporately to grow in understanding of Christ to live rightly (3:16). I will develop this more fully in section 5.7.

5.4.6 Transferred to the “Heavenlies” (1:12-13; 3:1-4)

In Colossians, the elect presently participate in the “heavenlies,” eclipsing the privileged position of angels in their proximity to God. Transferred into Christ’s βασιλεία (1:13) and indwelt by Christ(’s Spirit), believers experience an intimacy with God unknown even by the angels. The elect reside in the “heavenlies” in that the “heavenlies” have been *interiorized*. God is in Christ who is in them, and because of

205. Martyn, “Epilogue,” 180.

206. Martyn, “Epilogue,” 181.

207. Martyn, “Epilogue,” 181 n. 26.

this, visionary ascents are futile (2:18). Seeking heavenly ascents fails to grasp that the cosmological barrier has been dissolved and the “heavenlies” reside within the elect on the “earth.” To appreciate this radical depiction of the new existence, it is imperative to locate the author’s thought within the worldview of EJJ.

In the Jewish apocalypses, spatial dualism functions to highlight the contrast between the things above (“the heavenlies”) and the things below (“the earth”).²⁰⁸ Bevere notes this emphasis, namely “heaven as the place of righteousness and the earth as the place of wickedness (cf. *1 En.* 1:2; 6:2; 9:1-11; 12:4; 15:3; 37:2; 531).”²⁰⁹ The language of *2 Bar.* 48:42-52:7, a Jewish apocalyptic text roughly contemporaneous with Colossians, illustrates this spatial dualism. In *2 Baruch*, τὰ ἄνω (“the things above”) is used as a substantive to refer to the angelic host and paradise, demonstrating the concrete perspective of “the things above as the abode of angels in which the elect sought participation.”²¹⁰ A common motif throughout EJJ, the “heavenlies” represent perfection and purity due to God’s presence; therefore, heavenly ascents hold the promise of experiencing the benefits of proximity to God while on earth.²¹¹ The author of Colossians utilizes language that reflects this cognitive environment. He exhorts believers to “think on” (ζητέω) “the things above” (τὰ ἄνω, 3:1-4) and to “put to death” (νεκρώω) “the things on the earth” (τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 3:5-9).

By referring to τὰ ἄνω, the author does not simply reflect the cosmology of EJJ, but redefines its notion of space. For example, in the Jewish apocalypses, other-worldly mediators and participation in the “heavenlies” were admired and desired in large measure because salvation was not present on earth.²¹² As but one example, in *2 Bar.* 51:10-12, the elect are promised that the host of angels *will be revealed* to the

208. Sappington, *Revelation*, 57.

209. Bevere, *Sharing*, 152.

210. Levison, “*2 Apoc Bar.*,” 95–99.

211. For examples of human participation in the heavenly liturgy, see *Apoc. Abr.* 17:1-21; *3 En.* 1:12; *Mart. Isa.* 7:36-37; 9:37-42; *T. Job* 48:2-3), and for examples of the elect observing the angelic liturgy, see *2 En.* 22:1-11; *T. Adam* 1-2; *Rev* 4-5), as cited in Levison, “*2 Apoc Bar.*,” 100 n. 15.

212. See Collins, “Jewish,” 28 that all fifteen Jewish apocalypses shared the view that salvation was not present.

righteous in the coming future.²¹³ In contrast, the author of Colossians counters that the elect *presently* participate in “the lot of the angels” (1:12), having been transferred to Christ’s kingdom (1:13) and indwelt by God (1:27; 2:10). The “heavenlies” are near indeed! Thus, the author’s exhortation to think on τὰ ἄνω is, in effect, an exhortation to reflect on the “mystery” of the new existence, that is Christ.

5.4.6.1 Rescued from the “Authority of Darkness” (1:13)

The foregoing conclusion is strengthened through a detailed analysis of 1:12-13. Firstly, Colossians depicts a consummated state of affairs, not a forth-coming event at Christ’s *parousia*. Participation in the kingdom of Christ means that the elect currently *exist* within a different sphere.²¹⁴ God has rescued and transferred the elect out of bondage to “the authority of darkness” (1:13). As I discussed earlier, many works in EJL viewed all humanity “on the earth” (including the elect) as captive to malevolent powers, led by “the authority of darkness” (ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους).²¹⁵ But, the author of Colossians writes, God determined within himself to give the elect an inheritance.²¹⁶ Through the Christ-event, God “rescued” the elect and completed their “transfer” into the “kingdom” of Christ.²¹⁷ This significant aspect of the new existence is distinctive to Colossians. As O’Brien points out, this is one of only a few instances in the NT which refers to the “kingdom of Christ,” i.e. the “heavenly kingdom in its present aspect” until the final and complete realization of God’s kingdom at Christ’s return.²¹⁸

213. Levison, “2 Apoc Bar,” 99.

214. *Contra*, Wengst, “Versöhnung,” 24 who states, “Sie [believers] leben nicht im Himmel.” Wengst fails to locate the author’s language in a first-century worldview, thus he interprets the evil angelic “powers” as the Roman social structures.

215. Thus, Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 116 concludes “the authority of darkness” is “the realm of darkness, the sphere in which Satan holds sway.” *Contra* Forbes, “Principalities,” 71 who interprets ἐξουσία metaphorically.

216. Emphasizing God’s action, Dübbers, *Christologie*, 134 notes “daß die Kriterien” of salvation, arise not with the recipients, “es allein Gott ist.”

217. Rightly, Sappington, *Revelation*, 200 notes that the verbs ἐρρύσατο and μετέστησεν stress a *realized* aspect of redemption and intimacy with the Father.

218. See O’Brien, *Colossians*, 28. Cf. Matt 12:28; 13:41; 25:31; 1Cor 15:24-28; Heb 12:28; 2 Tim 4:1; Rev 1:6.

Secondly, this “transfer,” a change of spheres, is not a temporary experience of the “heavenlies” like that sought after by the opponents, but is an *on-going* “heavenly” existence. The author denounces the opponents for being “puffed up without cause” (εἰκῇ φυσιούμενος) about their visions and experiences of the “heavenlies” (2:18). Visions, *per se*, are not the problem.²¹⁹ The author takes issue with the erroneous view that the elect were deficient with respect to access to the “heavenlies.”

Thirdly, while the elect still reside bodily on the “earth,” this does not preclude *a priori* existence in the “heavenlies.” A striking aspect of the new existence is that the elect *simultaneously* exist in a different sphere. The completed “transfer” (μεθίστημι) into Christ’s kingdom must be interpreted through the lens of first-century spatial dualism.²²⁰ While the elect remain “on the earth,” transfer language must be viewed against its first-century and polemical backdrop in which ascending to the “heavenlies” conveyed substantive spiritual benefits.

5.4.6.2 Promised a Share in “Heavenly” Angelic Privileges (1:12)

Three phrases in 1:12, in addition to the domain/kingdom ideas of 1:13, emphasize the present *spatial* dimension of the elect’s new existence in which they now share a special relationship with God and affinity with the angels. These phrases (ἡ μερίς τοῦ κλήρου, τῶν ἁγίων, and ἐν τῷ φωτί) demonstrate parallels with the Jewish milieu and stress a completed aspect of salvation.²²¹

219. Whether Paul or a disciple, the author reflects the thought world of Paul who himself experienced and valued visionary experiences, provided they did not detract from Christ, his work, or its effects (cf. Gal 1:12; 2 Cor 12:1-7). On the “deep mystical” aspects of Paul’s Jewishness, see Davies and Sanders, “Paul,” 685–86. On Paul’s visionary ascent in 2 Cor 12:1-4, see Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 175–77.

220. Connecting the transfer with a new existence, Gnllka, *Kolosserbrief*, 48 writes, “Vielmehr wurde dem ganzen Menschen eine grundlegende Neuorientierung, ein neuer Standort, eine neue Existenz zuteil.”

221. That praises τῷ πατρὶ (cf. 1:3; 3:17) refers to God and reflects parallels with “das qumranverwandte jüdische Milieu,” see Gnllka, *Kolosserbrief*, 46.

The first phrase, “the part of the lot” (ἡ μερίς τοῦ κλήρου, 1:12), refers to an eschatological “inheritance” of the new existence. Drawing upon the HB, LXX, and EJL, the phrase indicates an apportioned division among humanity.²²² It may evoke ideas of God’s deliverance of the Hebrew people from Egypt (Exod 12:51; cf. 12:27; 14:30), the “inheritance” of the promised land, and identification as God’s people.²²³ But the author of Colossians reconfigures these themes to convey that as the “elect of God” (ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, 3:11) they already possess an “inheritance” unrelated to the physical land of Israel.²²⁴ Present possession is indicated by the aorist participle, “made to fit” or “qualified” (ικανόω, 1:12) and then reinforced by the aorist verbs “delivered” (ῥύομαι) and “transferred” (μεθίστημι) in 1:13. The inheritance is a *completed* act by God and a present aspect of salvation.²²⁵

The second and third phrases occur together in 1:12 (“the holy ones in the light,” τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί), and the author of Colossians interprets redemption to mean that believers are now within the “heavenly” realm/sphere, “a domain ruled by God.”²²⁶ While most English Bibles translate ἅγιοι in 1:12 as “saints” or “people,”²²⁷ translation as “holy ones” better reflects the author’s Jewish cultural milieu.²²⁸ But

222. According to Lohse, *Colossians*, 35, cf. n. 20 μερίς καὶ κλήρος (LXX) may indicate apportionment of land (e.g., Deut 10:9 וְנָחֵלָה - cf. Deut 12:12; 14:27, 29; 18:1) as well as indicate “reward or punishment (cf. Isa 57:6; Jer 13:25) . . . salvation accomplished by God (LXX Ps 15:5).” The term κλήρος (“lot”) is also the translation for גּוּרֵל. In the DSS, God’s apportioning of humanity is discussed in terms of the נַחֲלָה or גּוּרֵל established for each person. Thus Benoit, “Αγιοι,” 85 points not only to the relative frequency of גּוּרֵל in the DSS to indicate the place assigned within the community, but also to passages in which the “lot” to be divided is among the “saints” (1 QS 11.7; 1 QH 3.22; 11.11). See also, 4Q418 81 5. See also, Sappington, *Revelation*, 199.

223. N. T. Wright, *Colossians*, 64–65.

224. *Contra*, Fee, *Christology*, 296–97 that κλήρος is used primarily with reference to God bringing Israel out of Egypt (Exod 6:6–8) and that “the saints” (τῶν ἁγίων) recalls Israel being called “a priestly kingdom and holy nation” at Sinai (Exod 19:6).

225. Rightly, Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 46 n. 15 points out that ικανόω “hat soteriologische Bedeutung.” Further, O’Brien, *Colossians*, 26 concludes that the “aorist tenses point to an eschatology that is truly realized.”

226. Lohse, *Colossians*, 36 n. 30.

227. Cf. ESV “saints”; NAS “saints”; NET “saints”; TNIV “people”; NRSV “saints.”

228. Lohse, *Colossians*, 33–36.

does ἅγιοι refers to believers,²²⁹ angels,²³⁰ or both? I argue that the author of Colossians means to say that “holy ones” refers to both believers and angels.²³¹ “Holy ones” (שׁוֹדֵק; ἅγιος), thus, retains the underlying ambiguity demonstrated in the HB and EJL.²³² For example, Zechariah’s oracles and prominent use of angels culminates with his prophecy of a coming eschatological day when “the LORD my God will come, and all the holy ones (קְדוֹשִׁים MT; ἅγιοι LXX) with him” (Zech 14:5). Contextually, angels are surely in view, but “saints,” the righteous elect, may be as well. Wisdom 5:5 depicts a scene at final judgment in which the unrighteous are surprised and ask of God, “Why have they [the righteous] been numbered among the children of God? And why is their lot (κλήρος) among the saints (ἁγίους).” Here, the *future* state of the righteous is depicted as existence in the heavenly court which clearly includes the angelic host. Col 1:12 reflects this shared cognitive environment and it is further seen in the third significant phrase, e.g. “in the light” (ἐν τῷ φωτί).²³³

While this phrase/motif (τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί) pervades texts found at Qumran, it occurs only here in the NT.²³⁴ At Qumran, it signifies that the elect have

229. As “believers,” see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 39; Schweizer, *Colossians*, 51; O’Brien, *Colossians*, 26; Bruce, *Colossians*, 50; Aletti, *Colossians*, 80; Moo, *Colossians*, 102.

230. As “angels,” see Lohse, *Colossians*, 36. See also Rowland, “Visions,” 78. Recently, MacDonald, *Colossians*, 50. That “in apocalypticism angels were understood to be righteous people transformed by God (1 En. 51; Matt 22:30, cf. 1 QS 4.20-23), see Pokorný, *Colossians*, 52.

231. Based on the transfer into the “light,” Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 47 finds in principal no distinction between deceased or alive believers or between believers and angels in that “Das Licht ist der Raum, in den Gott die Gläubigen versetzt hat und in dem sie Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln gewannen.” See too, Benoit, “Ἄγιοι,” 83–99 who argues well that the ambiguity in Col 1:12 is mirrored in texts at Qumran where “holy ones” ambiguously applies to community members and angels. In agreement with Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 114 that “the heavenly host includes not only angels but the elect who have kept the faith and finished their course.”

232. Citing examples from EJL, Benoit, “Ἄγιοι,” 90 demonstrates that “holy ones” refers to both angels and the pious members of the elect community, leading Benoit, “Ἄγιοι,” 92 to conclude “. . . que le nom 'saints' se rencontre lui-même assez souvent dans ces écrits, et qu'il y désigne tantôt des anges, tantôt les membres de la communauté, tantôt les deux à la fois.” See also, Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 82. In LXX texts, the term ἅγιοι refers to “angels” in Psa 89:5, 7; Dan 4:13 (Theodotion); Zech 14:5; In NT, possibly in 1 Thes 3:13.

233. As Harris, *Colossians*, 35 notes, ἐν τῷ φωτί could be construed with: (1) τῷ ἱκανώσαντι; (2) τῶν ἁγίων; or (3) τοῦ κλήρου. I take it to modify the whole phrase.

234. On the distinctive theological characteristics in Colossians, see Lohse, “Pauline,” 214–17.

been “shifted” (*versetzt*) into another realm with God.²³⁵ In Colossians, it describes a sphere where both “angels” and the elect reside. Coupled with the language of “authority of darkness” (1:13), it appears that the author was familiar with the pattern of ideas in Jewish apocalypticism.²³⁶ Such an interpretation foregrounds that the elect, “in Christ,” have access to the “heavenlies” with Christ.

The recipients’ present participation in a community that includes a “heavenly” existence is often obscured by the debate over the meaning of *ἅγιος*. In combination with 1:13, and the aorist tenses in 1:12-13, the author stresses that the elect already reside in the kingdom of light.²³⁷ This antithesis between believers’ existence as “light” and pagans as “darkness” is not unique in the NT (cf. 2 Cor 6:14-17). However, Colossians indicates that believers *are* residing in the light even though they still live on the earth.

The author’s use of the rather awkward phrase “the part of the lot” (*ἡ μερίς τοῦ κλήρου*), an expression unique in the NT, emphasizes the present, already fulfilled aspect of the new existence by differentiating between a *future* κληρονομία and a *present* μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου. The author’s use of “reward of inheritance” (*ἀνταπόδοσις τῆς κληρονομίας*) in 3:24 clearly indicates that future eschatology remains when Christ returns. The realized thrust of the phrase “the part of the lot” mirrors the present completed emphasis of the pericope in which it sits (1:12-14). The elect’s redemption through Christ has given them a relationship with God, removed the cosmological

235. See, Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 47 who writes, “Das Licht ist der Raum, in den Gott die Gläubigen versetzt hat und in dem sie Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln gewonnen.” Gnllka cites as evidence 1 QS 1.9; 2.16; 3.13, 24f; 1QM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13. To this I add 4Q418 69; 4Q418 81.

236. See Arnold, *Syncretism*, 289–91 who notes “an indirect dependence on Essene (Qumran) and apocalyptic concepts—especially in his concern to give perspective on the realm of the domain of Satan.”

237. For example, O’Brien, *Colossians*, 27 rightly notes here that the eschatology is “truly realized.” But, he then speaks in terms of *future* eschatology saying that God had fitted the Colossian Christians “in the realm of the light of the age to come.” I agree that “inheritance” is used in Colossians to refer to a future, yet-realized aspect of salvation (cf. 3:24), but O’Brien de-emphasizes the Colossian author’s striking characterization of believers’ *present* existence in the “heavenly” realm. See Dunn, *Colossians*, 77 that in 1:12 the author intends to say that this privilege “can be experienced already in the mortal life.” In agreement, Rowland, “Visions,” 78.

barriers, and placed them in God's presence at all times, a privilege heretofore known only by the angels.

This description is foreign, for example, to the fifteen Jewish apocalypses.²³⁸ According to the apocalypses, the elect will only dwell in the heavenly realm, experience transformation, and be on a par with the angels in the afterlife:

“But those who have been saved by their works . . . they shall behold the world which is now invisible to them . . . For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, And they shall be made like unto the angels,” (2 Bar. 51:7, 8, 10) and “ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . . and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. . . . Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope; for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven . . . for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven” (1 En. 104: 2, 4, 6).²³⁹

Even though the apocalypses demonstrate an interest in the vertical dimension of the cosmos,²⁴⁰ these apocalypses depict a nearly impenetrable barrier separating the “heavenly” and “earthly” realms.²⁴¹ In contrast, the author of Colossians describes a new existence in which cosmological barriers are strikingly dissolved.

Such a thought bears more in common with texts found among the DSS such as 4Q491 frag. 11 col. i, within the so-called *4Q Self-Glorification Hymn*. This text exemplifies a stream of thought in which election and thereby membership within the community includes an “inheritance” and “lot” with the angels.²⁴² Praising God, the speaker paints a picture of the heavenly liturgy in which the “holy ones” (קדושים, 1. 2) rejoice and which the speaker depicts his heavenly identity:

⁶ [...] my glory is in {comparable} and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I reside in [...], in the heavens, and there is no ⁷ [...]... I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation,” . . . “¹¹ [...] friend of the king, companion of the holy ones (קדושים) ... incomparable, f]or among the gods is [my] posi[tion, and] my glory is with the sons of the king.

The speaker clearly indicates that he “now resides in heaven [and] shares the lot and

238. Collins, “Jewish,” 22.

239. Cited in Collins, “Cosmos,” 136.

240. Collins, “Morphology,” 1–20.

241. Leading Sappington, *Revelation*, 57–59 to conclude that Jewish apocalyptic literature, marked by spatial dualism, contrasts the things above (the heavenly world) and the things below (the earthly world).

242. See Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 90 who notes that when “inheritance” and “lot” is used with reference to communion with angels in the DSS, “it is hard to know what this means for the sectarians’ ‘ontology’.”

privileges of the angels.”²⁴³ Election correlates with *present* participation with the “holy ones” in the heavenly court. This reflects a remarkably similar cognitive backdrop to the thought in Col 1:12 in which election includes a “heavenly” existence.

In discussion of 1:12-13, scholars rightly emphasize the soteriological effects of God’s action in Christ, but they rarely discuss the anthropological implications of this soteriological language. For example, while the *spatial* aspect of 1:12-13 is often noted, rarely is the language of 1:12-13 connected with the author’s references to the elect as Christ’s σῶμα and its corollary that Christ indwells the elect (1:27).

E. Schweizer objects to coupling the idea of believers presently sharing in the inheritance of the angels with the sphere language in v. 13 (“rescued from/transferred to”) because, he argues, this means that believers “would, as it were, already be living in heaven.”²⁴⁴ But what is meant by “living in heaven”? Clearly, Colossians presents a *spatial* dimension to the new existence (cf. 3:1-4) and accentuates the present aspects of salvation.²⁴⁵ The language of *indwelling* (Christ is “in” believers, 1:27), *participation* (baptized “with” Christ, 2:12, 20; 3:1), and *incorporation* (believers are the communal “body” of Christ, 1:24), is bound up in the assertion that believers are hidden with Christ in God (both of whom reside in heaven, 3:1-2). Briefly, I pause here to examine this striking language by way of discussing the relationship between Christ, “hope” (ἐλπίς), “body” (σῶμα), and the “church” (ἐκκλησία).

I argue that the idea within Colossians that believers reside with Christ in the “heavenlies” as the corporate σῶμα of Christ provides clues to answer what is meant by “living in heaven.” To begin with, Christ is in “heaven” (οὐρανός) seated at the right hand of God (3:1; cf. 4:1), a common depiction in the NT expressing Christ’s honor and authority.²⁴⁶ However, this image also conveys the present location of

243. “A ‘deified’ mortal who has ascended to heaven,” see Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 90.

244. Schweizer, *Colossians*, 51.

245. See Gnllka, *Kolossierbrief*, 47 who writes, “Wir werden jedoch hier wieder mit der räumlich und präsentisch geprägten Eschatologie unseres Briefes konfrontiert.”

246. Cf. Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pet 3:22.

Christ within the κόσμος. “Hope” (ἐλπίς) too is laid up in οὐρανός (1:5).²⁴⁷ Believers, the “earthly” ἐκκλησία and σῶμα of Christ, are hidden with Christ in God (ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ). In this way, believers appear to reside in οὐρανός (3:3). How can Christ, hope, and believers all reside in οὐρανός as well as on earth? The answer, I argue, lies in the fact that the author melds all three together in the new existence.

Firstly, Christ is “in” believers (ἐν ὑμῖν, 1:27; cf. 3:15, 16); therefore, the elect “have been filled” (πληρώω, 2:10) with the divine “fullness,”²⁴⁸ and now have Christ(’s Spirit) within their body. Secondly, “hope,” which is in “heaven” (1:5), is explicitly identified as Christ (1:27) that is “in” them. Thirdly, through Christ’s indwelling, the elect are transformed into his one σῶμα. While Christ resides in heaven, he also indwells (by way of the Spirit) the elect. Thus, as Christ’s σῶμα, the elect already presently participate in the “heavenlies.” This does not refer to an individual believer ascending to “heaven,” *contra* the opponents (cf. 2:18) who erred in this respect. Instead, the cosmological barrier has been dissolved such that the “heavenlies” have come to believers. The opponents’ prescriptions sought to provide the *individual* with the experience of an ascent to the “heavenlies” for revelatory knowledge,²⁴⁹ but the author denounces this view because the elect are the σῶμα of Christ, “that is, his church” (ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, 1:24). Quite simply, then, Christ’s indwelling presence within the believer means that the elect exist simultaneously “in the heavens” and “on the earth.”²⁵⁰

247. Cf. 1 Pet 1:4.

248. See, Arnold, *Syncretism*, 294 who notes that “in him” (ἐν αὐτῷ) marks a major motif of . . . 2:9-15.”

249. On traditions in EJJ of revelation through visionary ascent to heaven, see Francis, “Humility,” 176, 184–85. On initiatory rites in Graeco-Roman mystery religions meant to induce individual visionary experiences including perhaps “ascent to heaven,” see Arnold, *Syncretism*, 104–57.

250. Arriving at a similar conclusion with respect to Ephesians, Lincoln, “Heavenlies,” 475, 481 writes, “the Church can be thought of as spanning both earth and heaven,”; moreover, “the believer . . . finds himself involved in these two worlds - the heavenly and the earthly.”

The author of Colossians, then, communicates a consistent message. Salvation, including access to the “heavenlies,” is present. In the Christ-event, “the authority of darkness” and the “powers” are defeated. God has transferred the elect out of the “earthly” sphere into Christ’s kingdom. As “holy ones,” the elect participate with the “holy ones” in experiencing God’s presence now because they are raised with Christ and hidden with Christ in God. So, redemption has a profound present effect on the cosmos and on the σῶμα and σάρξ of the elect. Neither the cosmos nor the σῶμα of the elect are a battleground in any real sense. Thus, the victory has been won already and Christ is Lord over all (Col 2:6; cf. 1:15-20, 4:1). It is to be kept in mind, though, that the author keeps in view God’s wrath and coming judgment (3:6) in the context of ethical exhortations to believers (3:5-10). Threat of judgment, then, informs exhortations to remove vices associated with the “old person” and to put on attitudes and behavior associated with the “new person,” a process driven in large measure by growth in “knowledge” (3:10).

The resurrection life, the “new creation,” of believers described by the author of Colossians is proleptically experienced here-and-now.²⁵¹ Elsewhere (Col 1:21-22; cf. 3:7-8), the author utilizes the two-age, apocalyptic markers ποῖ-νῦνι to describe the radical disjuncture between the elect’s lives prior to and after faith in Christ, a perspective in which the two epochs are delineated by the death and resurrection of Christ.²⁵² “Now,” as a result of this cosmological and somatological victory, the elect have been transformed and are able to “walk” rightly (2:6).

5.5 Future Salvation

251. Cf. 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15, καὶνὴ κτίσις. See Hubbard, *New Creation*, 84–85 for cultural and anthropological studies on the religious imagery of “death to life.” In ‘death to life’ rituals, Hubbard notes, “this radical break with one’s former life is often symbolized by stripping off old garments and being clothed with new.”

252. See Dunn, *Paul*, 726 who notes “this apocalyptic perspective, this eschatological shift, dictates much of what is most characteristic in Paul’s theology.”

That the author of Colossians emphasizes the “realized” aspects of eschatology is a conclusion long noted by scholars and further demonstrated in this chapter. This has led many scholars to conclude that the “not-yet” eschatological aspects are inconsequential to the author’s thought.²⁵³ Rightly, such views have been challenged.²⁵⁴ While the author stresses the present aspects of salvation, a future hope and salvation remain within the theological construct of the epistle and undergird ethical exhortation, albeit in a diminished manner.²⁵⁵

Future salvation is referenced in the fact that “hope,” a present reality, is also future and “stored up in heaven for you” (1:5). A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. Believers are promised that in the future Christ will be “revealed” (3:4).²⁵⁶ Slaves are encouraged to submit whole-heartedly to their “earthly” masters (κατὰ σάρκα, 3:22) because they will receive from the Lord their “inheritance” (κληρονομίας, 3:24), the promise of eschatological salvation. Of note, this promise to slaves is followed by the reminder that Judgment is coming; the one who does wrong will receive just payment because God shows no partiality (3:25).²⁵⁷

5.6 The Call: To “walk worthy” (1:10; 2:6; 3:12-17; 4:5-6; cf. 1:28)

The author of Colossians is deeply concerned that the elect should know and obey the will of God (1:9), that is to “walk worthy” (1:10; cf 2:6), an overriding concern within Judaism and the NT.²⁵⁸ The author’s goal is aptly summed up as making all people “complete in Christ” (τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ, 1:28). “Complete” (τέλειον), understood

253. E.g., Lohse, *Colossians*, 180.

254. E.g., Sappington, *Revelation*, 226–28. See also, Still, “Eschatology”.

255. Barclay, *Colossians*, 89.

256. Rightly, Still, “Eschatology,” 131, fn 22, argues that it is mistaken to view Col 3:4 as the only future eschatological reference in epistle, e.g. 1:11, 18, 22-23, 27-28; 2:12; 3:3-4, 7; 3:22-4-1.

257. Cf. 1 Pet 1:17, “the one who Judges impartially” (τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα)

258. E.g. in the LXX, Deut 18:13; 1 Kgs 8:61; 11:4, 10; 15:3, 14; 1 Chr 28:9; Wis 9:6; Sir 44:17; in the DSS, 1QS I, 8; II, 2; III, 3, 9ff.; IV, 22; VIII, 1, 9f, 18, 20f; etc. as noted by Lohse, *Colossians*, 78 n. 79.

against the backdrop of the HB and EJJ, carries the sense of faultless behavior.²⁵⁹ The elect are to “walk worthy,” that is, demonstrate virtues (1:8, 22; 3:12-14; 4:6) while vices (1:21; 3:5-9) characterize the sons of disobedience” (ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας) and the “old person” (3:5-7). In this way, Colossians exhibits ethical dualism.

Since the opponents reflect views within Judaism, it is likely they would have shared this goal with the author.²⁶⁰ The opponents’ “philosophy,” then, attempted to provide the means to “put off” behavior associated with the old nature. But the author chides the opponents (2:6-2:23), correcting their understanding of the new existence and dismissing their practices as lacking “any value in restraining sensual indulgence” (2:23). In contrast, the author of Colossians continually focuses the recipients on Christ in order to become more like Christ (3:10).

5.7 Understanding the “Mystery” to Live Rightly

Having thoroughly dismissed the opponents’ teaching and established a firm understanding of the new existence “in Christ,” the author turns in 3:5 to paraenetic exhortations. I argue that the author exhorts the Colossians to engage corporately as the body of Christ in understanding the “mystery” through teaching, admonishing, and worship (praying, giving thanks, and singing) in order to live rightly. The author demonstrates the value of these activities by his own ministry and by his exhortations.

5.7.1 Cosmology, New Existence, and “the parts of the earth” (3:5)

The author views the earthly σῶμα of the elect positively. To illustrate this, I begin with the author’s exhortation in 3:5 to “put to death” (νεκρώω) “the things on the

259. See Sappington, *Revelation*, 187 for usage in LXX.

260. On Jewish background of the opponents, see chapter two.

earth” (τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), aspects of their old existence such as “evil desire” (ἐπιθυμία κακή), drawing attention to the term μέλος (“member, part, limb”) in 3:5.²⁶¹ In the Pauline epistles, μέλος is used with reference to individual parts of the human body, each with its own function (e.g., Rom 12:4). In this, Paul draws an analogy between parts of the body and individual believers, each assigned a unique function in the corporate body of Christ. But in Col 3:5, μέλος is *not* referring to parts of the corporate body of Christ, but to parts of a believer’s “earthly” (γῆ) body. So the believer’s new existence still contains “earthly” components.

Yet, and this must be stressed, the new existence straddles the cosmological barrier and is both “heavenly” and “earthly.” For example, in 3:3, and as a result of Christ’s indwelling, the elect are connected both to Christ and to each other as one body. In this way, the elect’s “life” (ζωή, sing.) has been hidden with Christ in God.²⁶² Language such as τὰ ἄνω (3:1, 2) contrasted with τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (3:2, 5) *may* allow for two meanings in συνεγείρω (3:1). In 3:1a, the author states the elect “were raised with” (συνεγείρω) Christ. Rightly, this is viewed as referring to believers’ baptism into Christ’s death and resurrection (cf. 2:20). However, and in light of the pervasive spatial emphasis of the epistle and the cosmological backdrop, it is also likely that the author means to say that the elect “were raised with” Christ up to the “heavenlies.” Thus, the author promises the recipients that they “will be revealed” (φανερώω) “with him” (σὺν αὐτῷ), that is Christ, at his “revelation,” presumably his *parousia* (3:4). The elect were raised with Christ, but also they are raised *to* Christ. Resurrection “in Christ” is a new existence that includes participation with Christ in his “heavenly” existence. As discussed above, this reflects the overlapping of eschatological ages and the dissolution of the cosmological barrier whereby the elect proleptically experience an intimacy with God in the present “in Christ.”

261. See *BDAG*, entry 4800.

262. Here, the Colossian author, like Paul (cf. Gal 2:20; Phil 1:21), “virtually identifies” Christ with the believer’s life; moreover, “Christ is the believer’s life both present and future,” see H. D. McDonald, “Life,” *EDT* 641–42.

However, the elect still inhabit the “earth” with a σῶμα of flesh and blood. Although the “old self has been stripped off” (ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, 3:9), the elect remain in an earthly existence associated with illicit patterns of thought and behavior (3:7). Thus, the author exhorts the elect to “put to death” (νεκρώω, 3:5) what is earthly within them, e.g. “the members, parts, limbs” on the “earth” (γῆ). Although faith in Christ resulted in the elect putting on the “new person” (ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον, 3:10), vices, understood as τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (3:5) still remain and must be excised. As in 1 Peter (e.g. 2:11), then, the author of Colossians recognizes the presence of “evil desires” (3:5) is a potential issue for the elect.

Yet, in contrast to 1 Peter 2:11, “evil desire” (ἐπιθυμία κακή) does not wage war within the elect. The author of Colossians thinks in terms of apocalyptic powers, and these “powers” (including the negative σάρξ) have been removed in the new existence. In 2:6-3:4, the author states that believers “have died” (ἀποθνήσκω, 2:20, cf. 3:3) with Christ to the “powers” (ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, 2:20). This past and completed death resulted in death to/removal of the σάρξ of the elect. “In Christ”/“Christ within you” results in a transformation to the σῶμα. The σάρξ no longer empowers “evil desire” (ἐπιθυμία κακή). In the new existence, the elect are enabled to “put to death” the eviscerated enemy, that is the “parts” of their earthly existence.

5.7.2 Teaching, Admonishing, and Worshiping as One σῶμα (3:16-17)

Next, I will briefly highlight the centrality of teaching, admonishing, and worship (thanksgiving, prayer, and singing) as enablers to carry out the paraenesis (3:5-4:6).²⁶³ The author’s exhortations indicate that: (1) the elect are to engage in these activities as a community (“one body,” 3:15); (2) he highly values learning activities and worship;

263. Setting aside the household code (3:18-4:1), I will focus on 3:5-3:17; 4:2-6.

and (3) he lays particular importance on growth in understanding (“wisdom,” 3:16; 4:5; cf. 1:28; 2:3, 23).

What bearing does the existence as a corporate agent “in Christ” have on carrying out the paraenesis? The answer lies in understanding that activities by one member of the σῶμα of Christ impact the other members. The bond of love in the Spirit (1:8; cf. 2:2), that is Christ(’s Spirit), results in union with Christ and with every other believer.²⁶⁴ Interconnected, every believer has moral responsibility because their actions impact their fellow members in the body.²⁶⁵ Obedience by every member of the σῶμα to Christ, their κύριος, includes putting on love, “the bond of completeness” (3:14) and letting “the peace of Christ rule” in their hearts (3:15).²⁶⁶

Becoming “complete” (τέλειον) in Christ (i.e., putting on the “new person”) is a community exercise requiring participation by all members of the body (cf. “one another” ἑαυτούς, 3:16). This is the reason the ethical exhortations in Colossians are in the form of second person imperatives (3:5).²⁶⁷ The author exhorts “the elect of God” (3:12) as “one body” (3:15) to teach and admonish one another (3:16) in order to “put on” the “new person” (3:10). The author does not address the elect while they are *in* the community, but instead, he exhorts the elect who *are* the community, that is the one σῶμα of Christ, the ἐκκλησία (1:18, 24). The σῶμα must engage in teaching, admonishing, and worship (thanksgiving, prayer, and singing) to grow in understanding of the “mystery.” The author lays particular emphasis on these activities modeling their importance by his own behavior. To this I will return shortly.

But first, I note the author’s emphasis on “giving thanks” (εὐχαριστέω) because it highlights the centrality of Christ to the body’s existence, and thus, the centrality of Christ in its activities.²⁶⁸ Only three other NT books, all of substantially

264. See Lohse, *Colossians*, 23. Similarly, Fee, *Empowering*, 639. Likewise, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 166 noting Rom 5:5. Rightly, Moo, *Colossians*, 285. Also, Bruce, *Colossians*, 44 that the Spirit unites the believers together.

265. Knowles, “Discipleship,” 196.

266. On the centrality of Christ as κύριος in Colossians, see Barclay, “Ordinary”.

267. Cf. 3:8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; 4:1, 2, 3.

268. E.g., [6x]; verbal form in 1:3, 12; 3:17; noun form in 2:7; 4:2; adjectivally in 3:15b.

larger size, utilize the term εὐχαριστέω (and its cognates) more frequently.²⁶⁹ In 3:15b (the only time in the NT it is used adjectivally), “giving thanks” serves as the front end of an *inclusio* closing in 3:17 which provides the substance and heart of the communal exhortation.²⁷⁰ Thanksgiving permeates the epistle (cf. 1:3, 11-12, 2:7). But why, to whom, and to what purpose?

In Judaism, prayers and praise are “to God” (τῷ θεῷ), the object and focus of thanksgiving. This is also the case in Colossians; however, this form has been significantly modified. While thanksgiving, prayers, and songs are to God, they are also to Christ who is worshipped alongside the Father. Prayers are carried out “in the name of the Lord Jesus” and “through” (διὰ) Christ (3:17). As κύριος, Christ is the ultimate master of all (1:3).²⁷¹ The use of the rare phrase “λόγος of Christ” instead of the common phrase “λόγος of God” indicates that the community’s teaching and worship is centered on and through Christ (3:16a).²⁷² As “the mystery of God” (2:2), Christ contains all wisdom (2:3). Thus, while thanksgiving is certainly to God, it is no less also to Christ. Called into one body, the “elect of God” (3:12) are offering thanksgiving to God, their Creator. Even here, Christ as the agent of creation (1:15-16) becomes the object of thanksgiving and the one whom they are to emulate (3:10). Thanksgiving, then, is both to God and to Christ in a posture that “confesses dependence on God” and “arises out of the realities of forgiveness.”²⁷³ Thanksgiving flows out of being rescued from “the authority of darkness” (1:13), transferred into Christ’s kingdom, placed into fellowship with God, “raised to new life and offered the hope of glory.”²⁷⁴

269. E.g., 1 Cor [7x], Luke [4x], and Rom [4x].

270. Viewing εὐχαριστοῦντες (3:17) and εὐχάριστοι (3:15) as “framing” vs. 16-17, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 431.

271. Cf. 1:10; 2:6; 3:17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24; 4:1, 7, 17.

272. Elsewhere only in Heb 6:1, as noted by Moo, *Colossians*, 285 who points to “word of the Lord” in 1 Thess 1:8; 4:15; 2 Thess. 3:1; 1 Tim 6:3 [plural]). That λόγος “of Christ” refers to the proclamation of Christ’s cross and resurrection and the teaching of Jesus, see Dunn, *Colossians*, 236. That it may also pertain to “the voice of the risen Christ in the worshipping community,” see Sumney, *Colossians*, 228.

273. Thompson, *Colossians*, 85.

274. Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 265.

5.7.3 Songs, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs “in Christ”

The exhortation to “songs, hymns, and spiritual songs” focused on Christ may have also served to negate similar prescriptions given for apotropaic purposes. Keeping both the first-century milieu (malevolent angelic beings governing and threatening humanity) and the recipient context (teaching regarding the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) in view, it is plausible that the opponents’ prescriptions contained apotropaic elements, that is controlling and/or providing protection against evil angelic beings (Col 2:8, 20). Ejl provides evidence of the belief that “songs, chants, or hymnic prayers could be recited in order to neutralize the harm associated with demonic beings.”²⁷⁵ The prayer in 11Q5 XIX, labeled a “Plea for Deliverance” by scholarship, demonstrates this fact.²⁷⁶ In l. 15, the author petitions, “Do not allow to rule over me a satan (שטן) or unclean spirit (ורוח טמאה).” As Stuckenbruck points out, the terms “satan” and “unclean spirit” are functionally equivalent representing evil angelic beings which are not subservient to God.²⁷⁷ In 4QShir^a, the sage indicates that his songs of God’s splendor neutralize evil angelic beings: “And I, a Sage, declare the splendour of his radiance in order to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, . . .” (4Q510 1 4-5).²⁷⁸

As a backdrop to Colossians, then, these passages raise the question of whether the opponents were utilizing songs, chants, and hymnic prayers for the purpose of warding off the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. The author of Colossians addresses any fears of

275. That petitionary prayer of YHWH for protection against malevolent angelic beings never occurs in the HB but is a development during the Second Temple period, see Stuckenbruck, “Prayers,” 146–47.

276. That the prayer resides within a larger “manuscript that also consists of biblical psalms and other hymnic compositions” and that it may predate the Qumran community thus indicating practices beyond the isolated community, see argument by Stuckenbruck, “Prayers,” 148, 150. So also, Flint, *Psalms*, 198–200.

277. See Stuckenbruck, “Prayers,” 149. Cf. 4Q213a frg. 1 I, 7; *Jub.* 1:19–20; 10:1–6; 12:19–20; Tob 8:4–8 as noted by Stuckenbruck.

278. Elgvin, “Mystery,” 124.

the powers by describing their defeat “in Christ,” and exhortations to engage in “songs, hymns, and spiritual songs” centered on Christ (3:16) may serve as a “shot across the bow” to the opponents who may have advocated songs, chants, and hymnic prayers as a means to ward off malevolent beings. The author’s exhortation to similar practices, but in thanksgiving to God for a completed rescue from “the authority of darkness,” is a particularly salient corrective. So, a similar liturgical praxis becomes radically different in content and function. Instead of being petitionary, the praxis is pedagogical, that is teaching, admonishing, and singing to understand the “word of Christ.”²⁷⁹

5.7.4 Learning Activities and Growth in Understanding

Whether apotropaic prayers and hymns were prescribed by the opponents or not, instruction through worship is the core instrument, according to the author, by which the elect become complete and live rightly (3:16). The verb for “teaching” (διδάσκω) occurs three times in Colossians, more times than any other NT book outside of the Gospels and Acts,²⁸⁰ and the verb for “admonishing” (νουθετέω) occurs twice, a high concentration for a term occurring only 8x in the entire NT.²⁸¹ In addition to frequency, the apostle and his associates themselves model these activities, engaging in teaching and admonishing as the means by which they will present believers complete in Christ (1:28). In sum, “learning” activities form the core of the author’s exhortations to the elect.

279. Rightly, Aletti, *Colossians*, 241 notes that the three participles (διδάσκοντες, νουθετοῦντες, ᾄδοντες) express the way in which the community is to abundantly experience the word of Christ. See Moo, *Colossians*, 287–89 for discussion on whether the phrase governed by ᾄδοντες (“singing”) modifies “teaching and admonishing” or is parallel with them. Scholars and translations are pretty evenly mixed. Either way these three activities are instrumental to the community’s praxis.

280. Col 1:28; 2:7; 3:16; E.g., 1 Tim [3x]; Rom [2x]; 1 Cor [2x]; Heb [2x]; Rev [2x]; Gal, Eph, 2 Thes, 2 Tim, Tit, and 1 John [1x each].

281. E.g., 1 Thes [2x], and Acts, Rom, 1 Cor, and 2 Thes each [1x].

It should come as no surprise, based on the centrality of Christ in the author's theology, that διδάσκοντες and νοουθετοῦντες are expressed, and experienced "in Christ." When the two participles occur together (1:28; 3:16) they are modified by the phrase "in all wisdom."²⁸² As I will argue in the next section, the author strongly asserts that "all wisdom" is hidden in Christ (2:3). Thus, the activities of διδάσκοντες and νοουθετοῦντες are circumscribed by and dependent upon wisdom hidden "in Christ." Access to wisdom for teaching and admonishing, then, requires indwelling/participation/incorporation. In the body of Christ, just as in the elect's body, the presence of Christ plays the decisive role. Such is the case in the proceeding exhortation to "let the peace of Christ rule" among them (3:15). The basis of the peace is the community's unity as a corporate body made whole in/through Christ.²⁸³ Similarly, "the word of Christ," which includes Christ's presence, is to dwell within them (ἐν ὑμῖν, 3:16), "animating" the community and its worship.²⁸⁴ Thus, the community's "teaching" and "admonishing" arise both from knowledge about and experience of Christ as his one body united through his indwelling presence. With Christ, his acts and his presence at the center, the author both exhorts and models the means to living rightly, namely teaching and admonition in all wisdom hidden "in Christ."

5.7.5 Revelation and Living Rightly (2:2-3; cf. 1:9, 10, 28; 2:23; 3:2, 10, 16; 4:5)

In this section, I will explore the relationship between growth in "understanding" (σύνεσις) of revelation and behavior. Firstly, I will explore the *connection* drawn by

282. In agreement, Pokorný, *Colossians*, 174. Also, Aletti, *Colossiens*, 241.

283. That "personal, subjective, inner peace" is not the focus here, see Thompson, *Colossians*, 85. Also, Fee, *Christology*, 328.

284. Astutely, Aletti, *Colossiens*, 242 writes that the word of Christ "continue à animer la communauté." Long ago, Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 222 labeled ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ a subjective genitive "so that Christ is the speaker."

the author of Colossians between “knowledge” (ἐπίγνωσις) of the “mystery” (μυστήριον) and living rightly. Secondly, I will discuss the “mystery” as the subject of knowledge and “wisdom” (σοφία). Thirdly, I will discuss the process of knowledge *acquisition*.

Firstly, the author so strongly associates the ability to “walk worthy” (1:10) with growth in knowledge and understanding that it becomes the focus of his prayers to God for the recipients. In 1:9, he prays for God to “fill” (πληρώω) them in “wisdom” (σοφία) and understanding, and then, in 1:10, links this growth in the “knowledge of God” (ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ θεοῦ) with their ability to live rightly. The author also describes their ministry as “admonishing and teaching” (1:28), an exercise in dispensing knowledge, in order that they may present everyone “complete” (τέλειος, 1:29) in Christ. The author exhorts the entire community to teach and admonish one another “in all wisdom” (ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, 3:16),²⁸⁵ because “knowledge” (ἐπίγνωσις) serves to “renew” (ἀνακαταλλάσσει) the new self (3:10). As in sapiential traditions, growth in understanding by acquiring σοφία is strongly, and positively, correlated with the ability to live rightly. But, will any type of σοφία and γνῶσις suffice?

Secondly, God is the subject of knowledge and “wisdom” (σοφία). In 1:9, the author prays for the recipients to gain “knowledge” (ἐπίγνωσις) of God’s will through “wisdom” (σοφία) and “spiritual insight” (συνέσει πνευματικῇ). But human σοφία contained in traditions (2:8), commands, and teachings (2:22) is not in view because it results in “philosophy” (φιλοσοφία) characterized as “empty deceit” (κενῆς ἀπάτης, 2:8). Human knowledge, such as that exemplified by the opponents’ teaching, only contains the “appearance of wisdom” (2:23).²⁸⁶ A deep divide exists between Godly σοφία and humanly σοφία.²⁸⁷ Godly wisdom is found only “in Christ” where “all the

285. The Colossian author, points out Gnlika, *Kolossierbrief*, 160 emphasizes the need to have the right wisdom: “unser Autor zu wiederholten Malen die Notwendigkeit, die rechte Weisheit zu besitzen (1:9, 28; 3:16).”

286. That Colossians “mentions wisdom more than any other Pauline letter except 1 Corinthians,” see Sumney, *Colossians*, 223

287. Cf. *4 Ezra*, a roughly contemporaneous Jewish text, for a stark “contrast between human and divine wisdom,” see Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery*, 21.

treasures of wisdom and knowledge” are hidden (2:3).²⁸⁸ Christ, then, is not simply *a* treasury of *some* “wisdom,” but instead, Christ is *the* treasury of *all* σοφία (including hidden wisdom!). As I will discuss in the next chapter, the hiddenness of wisdom is significant motif in many Second Temple texts.

This leads, thirdly, to the means of knowledge *acquisition*. Correcting a false and widespread view that access to God, his wisdom, and his mysteries arrive through revelations and visionary experiences, the author of Colossians asserts that God’s mysteries have been fully revealed to the elect. God revealed his μυστήριον, Christ, in whom God’s hidden wisdom is made known.²⁸⁹ Visionary ascents, heavenly journeys, angelic messengers, and ascetic-mystical practices, then, are superfluous.²⁹⁰ Instead, and because all the treasures of σοφία are in Christ, acquisition of σοφία occurs, naturally, “in Christ.” Connection to Christ through his indwelling presence and participation in his σῶμα provides the context in which teaching, admonishing, and worship result in understanding God’s σοφία and mysteries. Membership as God’s elect has resulted in possession of God’s μυστήριον. Here, then, the author of Colossians exhibits another aspect of his “realized eschatology” as believers possess God’s μυστήριον *prior* to the eschaton.

5.8 Conclusion

I conclude by briefly summarizing the author’s view of the new existence and the means to live rightly. As in the conclusion to Chapter 3, I will save comparisons between Colossians and 1 Peter for the concluding chapter.

288. This statement arrives in a polemical context. See 2:4. Thus, Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 188–89 writes, “what the Colossian opponents are claiming to be their privilege is in fact the rightful property of *all* Christians by virtue both of their incorporation in the Christ (in whom God’s fullness is already manifest: 1:19f.; 2:9; etc.).”

289. Thompson, *Colossians*, 86.

290. That the language in 2:2–3 (e.g., σύνεσις, ἐπίγνωσις, σοφία from 1:9 and the words μυστήριον and ἀπόκρυφος) are from Jewish apocalyptic and used rhetorically against the opponents, see Fee, *Christology*, 316.

Firstly, the author views the σάρξ (“flesh”) of the elect in two distinct ways. In one respect, the author understands σάρξ as created, material existence which does not change the new existence, an understanding corresponding to the view identified in 1 Peter. However, in another respect the author of Colossians utilizes σάρξ negatively in a theological understanding to refer to an apocalyptic power closely associated with the “earthly” realm. According to the author, Christ’s “stripping” (ἀπεκδύομαι) of the “powers” (2:15) corresponds to “the stripping of the body of the flesh” (τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, 2:11) from the elect. Thus, in the new existence the elect have been excised of the negative σάρξ. Moreover, and because the elect “have stripped the old self” (ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, 3:9), ἐπιθυμίας (“evil desires”) associated with the “earthly” realm may be “put to death” (3:5).

Secondly, the author emphasizes present aspects of salvation. Along the *temporal* axis, the κόσμος has been reconciled by the Christ-event, and the elect have been freed from the apocalyptic “powers.” Through discussion of a heavenly book(s), the author assures the elect that forgiveness is decidedly present. Thus, while “the wrath of God is coming” (ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, 3:6), it is neither imminent nor a concern for the elect.

Thirdly, the author’s *spatial* map of the new existence blurs the distinction between the “heavenly” and “earthly” realms. Indwelt by Christ(’s Spirit), the elect experience the interiorization of the “heavenlies.” Transformed into Christ’s one body and transferred into Christ’s kingdom, the elect share in the lot of the ἅγιοι in the light. Cumulatively, the elect experience an intimacy with God greater than the angels. Therefore, in union with Christ through baptism, the elect presently exist, in some fashion, in an intermediary plane of existence.

Fourthly, the author exhorts growth in understanding of Christ, the μυστήριον of God, as growth in knowledge facilitates the elect in carrying out the paraenesis. The centrality of this view has emerged through examination of the author’s teaching “according to Christ,” one contrasted with the erroneous commandments and

traditions of the opponents. As has been shown, Colossians shares many affinities with Jewish sapiential and apocalyptic literature. As is common in sapiential literature, the author of Colossians exhorts acquisition of wisdom, and against the backdrop of Second Temple Judaism, he asserts that the μυστήριον, hidden for ages, has been revealed (φανερώω) to the elect (1:26) in Christ (2:3).²⁹¹ Logically, then, all efforts should be directed towards growth in knowledge of God (1:9-10), which by definition, is a deeper knowledge of the μυστήριον, Christ. This comes firstly through his indwelling presence and secondly through corporate teaching, admonishing and worship as his one body (3:16). The result is that believers become “complete,” fully mature in Christ (1:28).

The centrality of learning activities in order to live rightly reflects, I argue, the *modus operandi* of one immersed in and still influenced by apocalyptic and sapiential traditions, traditions retained after faith in Christ. The author’s background, though, need not point to the Graeco-Roman philosophical schools, even though the author may have been familiar with such contexts.²⁹² Instead, the author’s worldview, language, and theology, correspond time and again with patterns of thought in Judaism, especially those reflecting sapiential and apocalyptic elements. For example, the author’s emphasis on teaching, wisdom, and liturgy [“hymns” (ψαλμός), “odes” (ὕμνος), and “songs” (ὥδή)], and “prayers” (προσευχή, 4:2, 12; cf. προσεύχομαι, 1:3, 9; 4:3) places him squarely within widespread practices of Judaism.²⁹³ Moreover, and as I have demonstrated above, whether the author is Paul or one associated with him,

291. Correctly, Moo, *Colossians*, 156.

292. *Contra* Walter T. Wilson, *Hope*, 255. While demonstrating similarities in *form*, Wilson fails to demonstrate how the theology of Colossians is dependent upon the Greco-Roman *philosophical ideas*. On this, Robert McL Wilson, *Colossians*, 267 notes a parallel between Col 3:16-17 and Epictetus who writes that he, “must be singing hymns of praise to God” (1.16.21). But, Wilson rightly adds that “this does not mean, of course, that our author was influenced by Epictetus, a slightly later contemporary (c. AD 60-140), or even by Hellenistic culture. The Jews already had the Psalms in their sacred scriptures, and singing is in any case a natural and spontaneous way of expressing gratitude and thanks to God.”

293. See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 223 who cites Philo’s description of Alexandrian Jews in *Flacc.* 1.222 and the practices of the Therapeutae in *Contempl.* 1:29, 80, 84. See also Charlesworth, “Hymns,” 424–25 for a list of pre-Christian, Jewish hymns and prayers.

the author indicates familiarity with sapiential and Pharisaic traditions, and thus, is likely to have had contact with EJJ texts in this milieu.²⁹⁴ Cumulatively, the evidence points towards further research into antecedents of the author's views within EJJ. The conclusions here lead into the next chapter where I will examine a sapiential and apocalyptic text from EJJ, *4QInstruction*, that bears many similarities with Colossians, including its description of the existence of the elect and its emphasis on understanding the mystery to live rightly.

294. Connecting sapiential traditions with Paul the Pharisee, Frey, "Notion," 224–25 writes, "There, in connection with the Temple, the transmission of Wisdom had an institutional framework, and it is likely that the early Pharisaic Sages who were also called חכמים knew and discussed these ideas as well. . . . It is, therefore, quite probable that Paul, when he was a pharisaic student in Jerusalem, also came across sapiential traditions like the great *Instruction* (=1Q/4QInstruction) or the *Book of Mysteries* (=1Q/4QMysteries). In any case, an acquaintance with the traditions represented by these Sapiential documents is more probable than a knowledge of Essene 'sectarian' documents such as the *Hodayot* or the *Rule of the Community*."

CHAPTER 6

4QINSTRUCTION AND PATTERNS OF THOUGHT IN COLOSSIANS

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will argue that *4QInstruction*, a text from EJL, embodies a cognitive milieu like that in Colossians. Exploration of its worldview and theology provides a map of how a segment within Judaism understood God, humankind, and the existence of the elect. Close attention to the pattern of ideas in *4QInstruction* will shed light on much of the unique ideas within Colossians.

The chapter will proceed as follows. In section 6.1, I will discuss developments during the Second Temple period including the prevalence of the theme of hidden wisdom in many early Jewish texts and the fusion of sapiential and apocalyptic material seen in *4QInstruction*. These trends demonstrate an interest in hidden wisdom, revelation, and apocalypticism and provide a backcloth to illuminate similar interests in Colossians. In section 6.2, I will discuss the non-sectarian outlook of *4QInstruction*, its *Sitz im Leben*, content, and dating to begin establishing points of contact between the two texts.

In section 6.3, I will explore core theological ideas in the text which are also at the heart of Colossians. For example: (a) revelation (“the mystery that is to come”) has already been given to the elect (section 6.3.1), (b) an ethical dualism in which the elect have been separated from the **בשר** (“flesh”) and thereby have a positive anthropology in which “desires” do not wage war within them (section 6.3.2), (c) eschatological judgment of the ungodly that appears on the distant horizon and an emphasis on the Lordship of God in creation to frame discussion of the elect’s existence (section 6.3.3), and (d) discussion of present forgiveness in terms of “heavenly books” and possession of a “lot” with the “Sons of Heaven” (section 6.3.4). In section 6.4, I will conclude by

discussing the sage's emphasis on understanding the "mystery" as the means to live righteously. Cumulatively, *4QInstruction* exhibits a pattern of ideas that illuminate the Colossian author's epistolary strategy, anthropology of the elect, realized eschatology, placement of the "mystery" at the core of the elect's existence, and study of that "mystery" as the means to live rightly.

6.1 Tradition-Historical Developments: The Motif of Hidden Wisdom

In what follows, I will argue that *4QInstruction* reflects on the existence of the elect and provides ethical exhortations and sapiential instruction within a framework of apocalyptic revelation and eschatological judgment. Composed during the Second Temple period when the motif of hidden wisdom rose to prominence, *4QInstruction* reflects this trend and forcefully asserts that the mysteries of God have been revealed to the elect. The discussion will map out a common tradition-historical milieu for the views articulated within Colossians.

The motif of secret and inaccessible wisdom extends back to the Book of Job, the Hebrew wisdom book having the greatest affinity with apocalyptic.¹ In Job, the secrets of wisdom are the deep things of God (Job 11:6-7) laying beyond the land of the living (Job 28:12-13). During the early Hellenistic period, Jewish speculation regarding the hiddenness, personification, and presence at creation of wisdom increased (e.g., Job 28; cf. Prov 8:22-31).² This trend is mirrored in EJJ by an expansion in angelologies that, among other things, provided access to God.³ As M. Hengel argues, the gulf between God and wisdom appears to widen as wisdom retreats and angels are required to reach God.⁴ Contrast this with earlier Hebrew sapiential

1. Collins, "Cosmos," 140 n 74.

2. Hengel, *Judaism*, 151–56.

3. For example, see the book of Tobit (third-century BCE) in Coogan, et al., *Apocryphal*, 11 in which an angel, Raphael, brings and reads a record of the prayers of Tobit and Sarah before the Lord (Tob 12:12). See also Hengel, *Judaism*, 231–34.

4. Hengel, *Judaism*, 233.

traditions, such as that exemplified in the book of Proverbs, in which wisdom is “drawn from everyday life, and should in principle be accessible to anyone.”⁵ All may learn wisdom and apply it to life.⁶ But in the Second Temple period many sapiential texts such as *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot*, and apocalyptic texts in particular, claim that wisdom is not accessible to everyone.⁷ Instead, the wisdom of God, and His eternal purposes, are mysteries that must be revealed and interpreted,⁸ a sapiential view at odds with the “this-worldly” orientation and skeptical view of supernatural revelation in Proverbs (e.g. Prov 30:4).⁹ Collins, pointing to “the fragmentation of Jewish teaching in this period,” notes that “wisdom became a multivalent concept” with “various wisdoms on offer in the schools of Judea around the turn of the era.”¹⁰ In sum, competing views arose during the Second Temple period regarding access to God’s wisdom.¹¹

In EJL of the Second Temple period, accounts of revelations from God bridged the perceived chasm between God and humankind. The perceived distance of God coincides with Israel’s continued subjugation.¹² Thus, disclosure of heavenly knowledge in apocalyptic literature *may* have also provided reassurance to a “beleaguered religious group” that God had foreknowledge of “Israel’s plight” and had not abandoned his people.¹³ However, these trends within Judaism arose, as Hengel demonstrates, within the wider cultural milieu of religion in late antiquity which was characterized by “higher wisdom through revelation.”¹⁴ While the Judaisms of this

5. Rightly, Collins, *Hellenistic*, 2. See also, Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 62.

6. For example, Wisdom: is “a fountain of life” (Prov 16:22); ensures safety when walked in (Prov 28:26); is available to children (Prov 29:3); and is gained by study (Eccl 1:17).

7. *Contra* Wisdom of Solomon that personified wisdom as obtainable to all who seek after her, e.g. 6:12-14.

8. Collins, “Cosmos,” 136–37.

9. See Collins, *Hellenistic*, 10. Similarly, Collins, “Wisdom,” 267 that “the this-worldly character of wisdom . . . often serves as a counterpoint to apocalypticism, which appeals very explicitly to extraordinary revelations, in the Hellenistic period.”

10. Collins, “Wisdom,” 281.

11. Samuel L. Adams, *Act*.

12. On the development within Judaism of the disclosure of heavenly mysteries, see Rowland, “Apocalyptic,” 781. See also Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery*.

13. Lieu, *Identity*, 71–72.

14. Providing a plethora of examples, Hengel, *Judaism*, 211, 210–18 concludes that Jewish

period reflect the broader cultural context, Rowland rightly points out that the Jewish apocalyptic quest for higher knowledge flows out of the HB “in the claims of the prophets to direct, visionary experience and to knowledge of the debates in the heavenly court.”¹⁵

While identifying precise causes remains illusive, it is clear that texts discovered at Qumran exemplify the aforementioned trends, namely that revelation of God’s mysteries is available only to a select few within Judaism. For example, in *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot*, “wisdom” (חכמה) and God’s “mysteries” (סוד) are hidden (even from other Jews!). In the *Hodayot*, knowledge of the divine mysteries only occurs by direct revelation from God to the speaker who then shares this wisdom with those in the community (1QH^a V 17-20).¹⁶ *4QInstruction* reflects this apocalyptic motif of hidden wisdom, but unlike the *Hodayot*, it has been revealed to *all* within the elect community. That is to say, the sage of *4QInstruction* makes no claims like the *Hodayot* speaker to superior revelation available only to him.¹⁷ Instead, hidden wisdom, the סוד נהיה, has been revealed to the sage, the addressee, and their community; moreover, it is to be diligently studied in order to live righteously.¹⁸ 4Q418 123 ii 4 exemplifies this view: “*His time*, Which He [God] uncovered to the ear of the understanding ones *about* the mystery which is to come.”¹⁹ Here, as elsewhere in *4QInstruction*, the “understanding ones” refers to the elect to whom the “mystery” has been revealed. Therefore, visions, otherworldly journeys, or angels providing divine knowledge play no part.²⁰ Elgvin captures the outcome of this development:

apocalyptic was “itself a fruit of the Hellenistic period.” See also, Rowland, “Apocalyptic,” 783.

15. E.g., Ezek 1 and Zech 1-8, see Rowland, “Apocalyptic,” 799–780. To this I add Gen 46:2; Num 12:6; Isa 6; Ezek 8:3ff.; 40:2. Thus, as Rowland, “Apocalyptic,” 786–87 notes, in many cases apocalyptic visions and pronouncements link back to particular scriptural texts, e.g. Ezek 1 (in Dan 7:9; *1 En.* 14:20; Rev 4, 4Q405 20 ii. 21-22, *Apoc. Ab.* 17f), Gen 1 (in *L.A.B.* 28, *4 Ezra* 6:38ff, *Jub.* 2:2ff and *2 En.* 25f), Dan 7 (in *1 En.* 46, *4 Ezra* 12-13, Rev 13). See also, Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery*, 16.

16. Cf. 1QH^a IX 9, 15, 16, 21, 23; XVII 17-18, 23-24; XVIII 4-5.

17. Goff, “Reading,” 275.

18. That *4QInstruction* represents “a trajectory of wisdom in the Second Temple period that is characterized by influence from the apocalyptic tradition,” see Goff, *Discerning*, 5–6.

19. Goff, “Pedagogical,” 64.

20. In contrast to the means of accessing the סוד (“mystery”) in apocalyptic literature, see

Seen in eschatological light, the statements of Job 29:20-21 that wisdom ‘is hidden (נעלמה) and concealed (נסתרה) from the eyes of every living thing’, and Deut 29:28 ‘the hidden things (הנסתרות) belong to the Lord our God, but the revealed things (הנגלות) belong to us’, are not sufficient any more. The secrets of God are not revealed to all Israel through the Torah. These secrets were given to the sages of early biblical history, and are again revealed to the elect of the end-time community.²¹

The author of Colossians reflects these developments, namely that visions, angelic mediums, and esoteric revelations offer nothing because all divine wisdom has been revealed to the elect (cf. Col 1:26-27; 2:2-3).

4QInstruction represents a significant development as “a new form of Jewish wisdom,”²² and it is a “missing link” in the development of sapiential traditions from Proverbs to Sirach.²³ Lange argues that *4QInstruction* arises as a response to the “crisis of wisdom” caused by Job and Ecclesiastes in their critique of Proverbs’ orderly view of creation, i.e. that the righteous are rewarded and the just are punished *in this life*.²⁴ According to Lange, *4QInstruction* attempts to rescue the orderliness of God’s creation through appeals to esoteric revelation that eschatological rewards/punishments confirm the coherent structure of creation. Elgvin argues that *4QInstruction* is dependent upon “the apocalyptic circles that from *1 Enoch* onwards interpret and transform the Israelite tradition of divine wisdom.”²⁵ In this, he argues the composition is in fact a redacted text of two types, the older sapiential and the “newer” apocalyptic.²⁶ While it is not necessary for my purposes to pin down the exact events or layers of material from which *4QInstruction* may have come, the text provides evidence of a trajectory of ideas and thought-world reflected also in Colossians.

Rightly, Elgvin asserts that *4QInstruction* melds traditional wisdom “within a framework of apocalyptic concepts with the result that its perspective on the world

Goff, “Pedagogical,” 64.

21. Elgvin, “Revelation,” 137.

22. García Martínez, “Wisdom,” 6.

23. *DJD* 34, 36.

24. See Lange, *Weisheit*, 301–6.

25. Elgvin, “Wisdom,” 237.

26. Elgvin, “Wisdom,” 226.

and man reflect apocalypticism to a greater degree than traditional wisdom.”²⁷ Yet, his assessment may still underestimate the extent to which apocalyptic motifs undergird the work. García Martínez is on track, I think, in asserting that the “revelatory character,” especially the extent to which the highly unique phrase *רַז נִהְיָה* (“the mystery that is to come”) and eschatological frame (e.g., 4Q416 1 and 4Q417 1 i), informs all the sage’s exhortations.²⁸ In this, then, Collins rightly points out that,

no wisdom book down to Ben Sira uses ‘mystery’ as a fundamental concept. It may well be that the *רַז נִהְיָה* is a reinterpretation of the figure of Wisdom in the older texts, as Elgvin has suggested, but if so the reinterpretation is significant. Wisdom was in principle available to all, and it did not have the orientation to the future implied by ‘the mystery that is to be.’ Neither does any of the older wisdom texts have place for a judgment scene such as we find in 4Q416, nor do they promise an inheritance of glory to the elect.²⁹

Adams’ wide-ranging study of sapiential literature concludes that *4QInstruction*’s cosmological introduction and description of final judgment is “an innovative introduction” and “represents a seismic shift from more traditional Wisdom books.”³⁰ These findings corroborate García Martínez’s contention that *4QInstruction* is “a major development in the sapiential tradition.”³¹ Awareness of the fact that *4QInstruction* contains ethical exhortations within an apocalyptic, cosmological, and eschatological framework, and thus represents a new stream of Jewish traditions, provides an unexplored path for the material in Colossians. It is from these new streams of traditions which later Jewish authors, such as the author of Colossians, drew.

The motif of the hiddenness of wisdom and the quest for heavenly knowledge continues throughout the Second Temple period up to and beyond the writing of Colossians. Sappington, pointing to οἱ θεσάυροι τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως of Col 2:3, notes parallels with 2 *Baruch* 44:14; 53:13 and correctly argues that Colossians reflects the thought-world of Jewish apocalypticism, i.e. hidden knowledge in heaven,

27. Elgvin, “Judgment,” 139.

28. García Martínez, “Wisdom,” 9–10.

29. Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 62.

30. Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 218–19.

31. García Martínez, “Wisdom,” 6.

often associated with the throne of God, is eagerly sought after and obtained through revelatory ascent.³² Similarly, in *The Book of the Similitudes* (1 En. 37-71), a Jewish work of the first century C.E., Enoch reports seeing a “Son of Man” who reveals “all the treasures of that which is hidden” (1 En. 46:3).³³ It is against this backcloth of burgeoning interest in hidden wisdom, revelation, and apocalypticism that the Colossian author writes to address the opponents’ teaching (Col 2:8).

As I will discuss, the manifold points of contact between the two texts indicates that the Colossian author draws from a similar cognitive milieu as *4QInstruction*. However, Colossians is no imitation of *4QInstruction*. While the hidden “mystery” has been revealed to the elect, the author of Colossians further reveals that the “mystery” is Christ himself. Thus, while Colossians reflects a common tradition-historical milieu as *4QInstruction*, the author interprets this milieu in light of his reflections on the Christ-event. Thus, Colossians represents a further development in Jewish sapiential and apocalyptic literature.

6.2 Wisdom Instruction in *4QInstruction* and the Colossian Author

I will provide now a brief overview of *4QInstruction*. Known variously as Sapiential Work A, *Mûsār lē Mēbîn*, and *4QInstruction*, the collection of manuscripts grouped under the siglum 4Q415 ff. were once a single work having been pieced together and presented in the *editio princeps*.³⁴ While *4QInstruction* was found at Qumran, and apparently valued by the *yahad*, the text does not appear to have been written by the sect. Instead, the text reflects life in a non-sectarian setting, and thus, represents more broadly disseminated ideas with which the author of Colossians may have been

32. Sappington, *Revelation*, 178–79.

33. On *The Similitudes*, see discussion in Sappington, *Revelation*, 30–32 who notes scholarly agreement on it being a Jewish work from the mid-first century C.E.. For dating to turn of the era due to “no reference to any event later than Herod,” see Collins, “Jewish,” 39.

34. E.g., 1Q26, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418a, and 4Q423. See *DJD* 34, 1. For an important supplement to the *editio princeps*, see Tigchelaar, *Increase*.

familiar. This discussion, then, provides the foundation for, and begins the work of, indicating ways in which *4QInstruction* serves as an antecedent to the worldview and theology of Colossians.

6.2.1 Non-sectarian Text Representing Ideas Pre-dating Colossians

The composition typically utilizes a second person masculine singular form for the addressee who is commonly acknowledged to be a מְבִין, “understanding one” (e.g., 4Q417 1 i 1, 14, 18).³⁵ While the speaker of the text is never identified by name, the persona is that of a sage or מְשִׁיל (“learned one,” 4Q418 81 17; cf. 4Q418 238 1) speaking in an exhortative and authoritative voice.³⁶ Elgvin’s comment that “the author/redactor seems to be a lay teacher who addresses ‘the enlightened’, the members of his community” brings in view a central concept in the composition, namely that “enlightenment” correlates with election, removal of the “flesh,” and salvation.³⁷ As I will explain later, the sage instructs the elect to whom cognitive insight has been granted to grow in “understanding,” “insight,” and “knowledge” of the “mystery” revealed only to them.

Firstly, *4QInstruction* stands apart from the clearly defined sectarian corpus (e.g., 1QH, 1QS, 1QM, 4QŠîrôt) in a number of ways. Unlike the sectarian literature at Qumran, *4QInstruction* lacks interest in issues of purity and impurity.³⁸ Pointing to priestly language as “a very characteristic mark” of the Qumran sect, Strugnell asserts that “such language is, however, almost totally absent from 4Q415ff.”³⁹ This claim needs qualification, however, if a priest is in view in 4Q418 81.

35. Cf. 4Q416 4 3; 4Q418 81 15; 4Q123 ii 5. See Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 63.

36. Referred to as “the instructor” (4Q417 1 i-ii) in *DJD* 34, 9. The sage/student dynamic evident in terms for the addressee, e.g. בֶּן מְבִין (“son of understanding,” 4Q417 1 i 18) and בֶּן מְשִׁיל (literally “son of a sage” or “sage child,” 4Q417 1 i 25).

37. Elgvin, “Mystery,” 117.

38. Elgvin, “Revelation,” 461.

39. Strugnell, “Lexical,” 598–99.

Fletcher-Louis argues that 4Q418 81 1-14 is written to a priest.⁴⁰ He concludes that “4Q418 81 1-13 is formally distinct from other parts of 4QInstruction because it is *not* addressed to a *maven*, a member of the laity, but to a priest.”⁴¹ This may be possible considering the unknown redactional history of the text. However, it is also likely, in light of the paucity of priestly language elsewhere that the priestly identity has been *applied* to the addressee.⁴² In any case, and as I will discuss later, the existence of the elect remains the same. That is to say, whether 4Q418 81 1-14 has in view a priest or not, the addressee *represents* the elect and provides a picture of their existence, especially in contrast to that of the ungodly.⁴³

Secondly, another characteristic mark of sectarian literature at Qumran is a highly developed sense of identity as a distinct community. But names and titles of the *yahad* are strikingly absent from *4QInstruction*.⁴⁴ As Elgvin notes, “the community [in *4QInstruction*] is not described as a spiritual temple, and we do not encounter a hierarchically structured community.”⁴⁵ This stands in contrast to the *Hodayot* which metaphorically describes its community as a temple. *4QInstruction* and Colossians similarly lack cultic descriptors for their respective communities whereas the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter both describe the elect with temple language. Recognition of these facts points to different cognitive milieus.

Thirdly, *4QInstruction* exhibits a different hermeneutical use of the HB than the sectarian literature. For example, Elgvin notes that “biblical verses are alluded to or freely integrated in the running text of the admonitions, not introduced with quotation

40. Earlier, Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 73 noted that the shift of addressee in 4Q418 81 and the use of Aaronite priestly language may be because “this section was addressed to priests” or “priestly terms transferred to another figure.” See also Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 176.

41. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 184.

42. Rightly, Elgvin, “Priestly,” 82 concludes that “*all* addressees, as partakers of heavenly mysteries and in communion with the angels, are designated here using priestly and royal terms.”

43. Rightly, Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction,” 248 n. 17 notes that “while a special position of the sage or teacher” in 4Q418 81 1-14 “cannot be denied, one cannot lose sight of the fact that in some sense he is also understood as a representative of others.” Similarly, Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 187.

44. Possibly because “4Q415ff is addressed to an individual Mēvîn,” as noted by Strugnell, “Lexical,” 599.

45. Elgvin, “Revelation,” 461 notes the community is not connected to a renewed covenant.

formulas,” concluding the text is not like the *pesharim*.⁴⁶ As discussed in chapters three and four, 1 Peter and the *Hodayot* share hermeneutical similarities with the *pesharim*, not the least of which is an affinity for allusions to prophetic books, especially Isaiah, to establish their respective community as Isaiah’s prophesied community. In chapter five, I mentioned that Colossians demonstrates a very different hermeneutic than the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter. It contains no explicit quotes from the HB, much less the prophetic books, does not name a prominent biblical figure, and does not appear interested in temple themes. Instead, the hermeneutic of Colossians aligns more closely with *4QInstruction*.

A fourth way in which *4QInstruction* stands apart from the sectarian corpus, is its apparent lack of interest in the Law. In a study of the lexical terms in *4QInstruction*, Strugnell notes:

In view of the frequency of the mentions of *the Law* in the sectarian 1-10Q corpus and of appeals to it as the basis of religious obedience and ethical action--indeed this is another of the marks to which scholars look in order to define a work as characteristic of intertestamental Judaism and especially of its Qumranic type--one has to note and explain the proportionate rarity of mentions of the Law in 4Q15ff.⁴⁷

Collins concurs that one of the distinctive marks of *4QInstruction* is “that it never thematizes, or explicitly discusses, the Torah.”⁴⁸ Elgvin notes that תורה never occurs in the fragments and מצוה only three times, thus the authority for the exhortations stems from the revealed “mystery that is to come” (רז נהיה), not the Mosaic Torah.⁴⁹ Similarly, Colossians never quotes from the Torah, never mentions the Law, lacks cultic themes, and appeals to the authority of the revealed “mystery.”

Elgvin argues these differences indicate that *4QInstruction* predates the *yahad* as an established community and influenced their views.⁵⁰ While Strugnell thinks

46. See Elgvin, “Revelation,” 442. Also, Elgvin, “Judgment,” 128.

47. This rarity is seen in that “. . . תורה (whether as “instruction” or “law” or “Tôrâ”) *never* occurs, whereas in 1-10Q there are 140 occurrences! מצוה occurs only twice, against 55 occasions in 1-10Q. Strugnell, “Lexical,” 602.

48. Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 54.

49. Elgvin, “Priestly,” 86.

50. Leaving open the question whether it belongs “to a pre-Essene stage” or derives “from the first formative phase of the Essene movement,” see Elgvin, “Revelation,” 461–62. Yet, later

4QInstruction predates the *yahad*, he does not view the composition as pre-Essene or pre-Qumranic, but instead as representing “a general nonsectarian and postexilic Jewish background.”⁵¹ About five years later, Collins notes, and agrees with, “the consensus” that the text is “not a product of the community described in the *Serek ha Yahad*.”⁵²

Fifthly, Tigchelaar argues the text is non-sectarian because it discusses family affairs and management of financial matters; moreover, it is “addressed to a *Mebin*, who, contrary to the addressee of Ben Sira, was not a professional sage, but could be anyone in society.”⁵³ This brings in view the relationship between the text’s topics of instruction and its *Sitz im Leben* which provide further points of analogy with Colossians.

6.2.2 Topics of Instruction that Correlate with Colossians

4QInstruction gives advice on mundane topics such as financial matters (poverty and debts), farming, and honoring of one’s parents and wife. 4Q416 2 iii 15-18, reflecting the Decalogue, exhorts the addressee “Honour thy father in thy poverty, And thy mother in thy *low estate* . . . as *they* have uncovered thy ear to the mystery that is to come, Honour thou them for the sake of thine own honour.”⁵⁴ Instructions like this run throughout the composition and point to life in “regular society” rather than in a sectarian community where males did not marry and lived in isolation from parents.⁵⁵

Elgvin, “Apocalyptic,” 23 concludes that *4QInstruction* “probably derives from precursors of the *Yahad*” and “was influential for the development of sectarian thinking.” That the text predates the *yahad* need not include literary dependence on the Enochic literature as Elgvin, “Revelation,” 462 argues. See arguments by Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction” against literary dependence.

51. Strugnell, “Lexical,” 607.

52. Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 64.

53. Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 74–75.

54. *DJD* 34, 113.

55. See Elgvin, “Judgment,” 127–28. Also, *DJD* 34, 21. Extensively, Goff, *Discerning*, 23–28, 48–53, 54–59.

The text addresses women (e.g., 4Q415 2 ii 1-9),⁵⁶ a highly unusual characteristic of wisdom instruction.⁵⁷ 4Q415 2 ii 4, for example, exhorts the female addressee not to “neglect (thy) *ho[ly] covenant*.” In context, “covenant” most likely refers to the marriage covenant, thus the text exhorts “the female *mēbîn* to obey the bonds of marriage, which for 4QInstruction, includes deferring to her husband.”⁵⁸ The text’s exhortations are not egalitarian (c.f. 4Q416 2 iv 1-7) but, in an allusion to Gen 2:24, are based on the God-given order in creation (l. 2) and explained by “the mystery that is to come.”⁵⁹ This is not to say that wives are neglected or demeaned. On the contrary, 4Q416 2 ii 21 instructs, “do not treat with dishonour the ‘vessel’ (or ‘wife’) of thy bosom.” Alluding to Gen 2:18, the sage exhorts the husband to “walk together with the helpmeet (עֵזֶר) of thy flesh” (4Q416 2 iii 21).

Although relatively unexplored by NT scholars, these exhortations provide an antecedent for NT household codes.⁶⁰ In Colossians 3:18-4:1, the author, like the sage, upholds a non-egalitarian structure in the household, yet diverges from the typical Greco-Roman *topos* by directly exhorting wives, children, and slaves.⁶¹ Colossians also utilizes the Lordship of God as a warrant for ethical exhortations thereby bringing in view that the husband, ultimately, has a master (κύριος) in heaven to whom he will be accountable (cf. esp. Col 3:23-25).⁶² I will explore this further in section 6.3.2.2 in relation to the sage’s strategy of beginning the composition by discussing God’s creation and Lordship over it.

In chapter five, I argued that many elements within Colossians point towards the author’s familiarity with sapiential and apocalyptic milieus in Judaism. The author

56. Wold, *Women*, 183–240.

57. Collins, *Hellenistic*, 121.

58. While the text clearly views the husband as in authority over his wife, Goff, *Discerning*, 50–53 rightly notes that women in 4QInstruction are elect, are separated from the “flesh,” have access to the mystery, and are to be honored by their children.

59. Collins, *Hellenistic*, 120.

60. On the influence of sapiential literature, like 4QInstruction, on the NT including the household code in Ephesians, see Rey, “Family”.

61. For example, Balch, *Wives*, 96 notes, “Aristotle . . . addressed only the male--the master, husband, and father.”

62. On the Lordship of Christ in Colossians, see Barclay, “Ordinary,” 43.

could have been associated with Jewish wisdom schools or *4QInstruction* could represent ideas on offer throughout Palestine, that is outside the echelons of elite scribal training. Taken together, it is not unlikely that the author of Colossians would have been exposed to the pattern of ideas represented by *4QInstruction*.

6.2.3 Colossians and a New ‘Type’ of Sapiential Instruction

With this in mind, I raise the question of whether *4QInstruction* derives from a wisdom school setting, or possibly, reflects ideas available to a wider audience in Palestine. Firstly, Collins identifies five types of wisdom in the HB and EJL: (1) wisdom sayings, (2) theological wisdom, (3) nature wisdom, (4) mantic wisdom, and (5) higher wisdom through revelation.⁶³ Secondly, Collins points out that “wisdom literature is to be found primarily in school education” citing Sir 51:23 as the first reference to a wisdom school.⁶⁴ Thirdly, utilizing Collins’ classification, Elgvin identifies types 1, 2 and 5 in *4QInstruction*.⁶⁵ Fourthly, noting these prevalent sapiential elements, Elgvin concludes that the text arose in the milieu of “scribal circles,” possibly like the *maskilim* in the book of Daniel, and represents the wider Essene movement.⁶⁶ The editors of the *editio princeps* conclude similarly pointing to the *maven* being “addressed as ‘son’ (cf. בֶּןִי in Proverbs).” That is to say, the “rhetorical situation of instruction suggests a ‘school’ setting (as in Sirach), though what sort of ‘school’ is to be imagined is not at all clear.”⁶⁷ Against this view, Tigchelaar points out that the so-called instructor is not present in the text, and the sage in *4QInstruction* does not address the so-called student as “my (?.) son” like *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira*.⁶⁸ Goff rejects the editors’ conclusions of a “school” setting noting that *4QInstruction* lacks Ben Sira’s instruction

63. Collins, “Compatibility,” 168.

64. Collins, “Wisdom,” 267–68.

65. That revealed wisdom takes center stage, see Elgvin, “Revelation,” 442.

66. Elgvin, “Judgment,” 129, 131, 133.

67. *DJD* 34, 20.

68. Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 68.

on etiquette for high society (e.g. Sir 13:9; 32:9) instead exhorting women, i.e. those not eligible for scribal training.⁶⁹

The different instructions, I suggest, may correlate with the apparently different social location of the addressee than that of the student in *Ben Sira*. Collins, for example, views the addressee of *4QInstruction* as literally poor.⁷⁰ Similarly, Wright, building on Goff's earlier suggestion, argues that the addressee is close to destitution.⁷¹ Tigchelaar, however, notes that the terms אֲבִיּוֹן (“needy”/“poor”) and רָעָם (“poverty”) are limited (e.g., 4Q416 2 ii-iii and 4Q415 6) and can be interpreted as conditional clauses. Thus, he argues the addressee “might be, or become, poor.”⁷² It must also be kept in view that “poverty” may be interpreted metaphorically.⁷³ In addition to metaphorical uses, though, it is important to remember the *topics* of instruction, for example farming and repayment of debts, matters more salient to the lower rungs of society than the Temple courts.

While both works are wisdom instruction, I note that *Ben Sira* centers wisdom in the Law of Moses revealed to all Israel (e.g. Sir 24; cf. Sir 1), opposes the search for hidden wisdom (Sir 3:21-24; 20:30; cf. 41:14),⁷⁴ and denies retribution after this life (Sir 14:12-19; 38:16-23). *4QInstruction* replaces Torah with “the mystery that is to come” revealed only to a sub-set of elect Israel,⁷⁵ exhorts the elect to grow in understanding of the *rāz niyeh*, and provides dramatic eschatological judgment scenes that point towards an afterlife for the elect (e.g., 4Q418 69 ii 7).⁷⁶ Thus, *4QInstruction*

69. Goff, *Worldly*, 228.

70. See Collins, *Hellenistic*, 118. Also, Collins, “Wisdom,” 272.

71. On economic distress in Palestine as the backdrop, see Goff, “Mystery,” 184–86. See also, Benjamin G. Wright, “Categories”.

72. Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 71.

73. Wold, “Metaphorical”.

74. That the two texts disagree “on the extent to which the nature of the created order can be perceived,” see Goff, “Mystery,” 176–77.

75. Rightly, Collins, “Wisdom,” 272 notes that “the addressee is told repeatedly to ‘gaze on the mystery that is to be’ . . . While this phrase is, appropriately, mysterious, it implies a cosmological and eschatological frame that is quite different from the this-worldly perspective of Ben Sira.” See also, Harrington, “Approaches”.

76. E.g., the “foolish-minded” face judgment in “the everlasting pit” (שַׁחַת עוֹלָם, l. 6) whereas the elect “will endure forever” (נִהְיֶה עוֹלָם, l. 7; cf. “in glory everlasting,” בְּכָבוֹד עוֹלָם, 4Q418 126 i-ii 8) and “shall rouse themselves to judge” the wicked (l. 7). On the contrast with Ben Sira, see Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 55–57. Regarding resurrection and eternal life in *4QInstruction*, see

represents a very different kind of sapiential instruction than *Ben Sira*.⁷⁷ If *Ben Sira* represents the teaching within the scribal circles associated with the Temple, *4QInstruction* appears to represent another milieu of instruction within Palestine during the Second Temple period. For example, Tigchelaar argues *4QInstruction* reflects the employment of the wisdom *genre* in a non-school setting:

We may conclude that although the literary genre of this kind of instruction probably originated in some kind of school setting, there are no explicit references in the preserved fragments of *Instructions* to such a situation. *That is, the genre or the forms are used in a literary manner, dissociated from their original setting* [italics mine]. Secondly, and resulting from the first conclusion, the term מבין, or even בן מבין, need not be taken to refer to a ‘student.’ Rather, both *Instruction* and other texts use this term especially in contexts where the addressee is called upon to meditate, study, or consider.⁷⁸

Tigchelaar’s observations are salient for this discussion. While *Ben Sira* appears to reflect the *Sitz im Leben* of the ruling class around Temple scribal schools, *4QInstruction* appears to reflect the *Sitz im Leben* of instruction within broader Palestinian society.⁷⁹ If this were the case, traditions like *4QInstruction* may have circulated more broadly throughout Palestine increasing the likelihood that the author of Colossians would have come into contact with similar milieus. Also, *4QInstruction* provides an antecedent for the type of *content* in Colossians, that is a genre in which sapiential and apocalyptic material are combined to instruct the elect on the nature of existence, their status, the means to walk rightly, and the destiny of humankind. Thus, the *manner* of reflection in *4QInstruction* provides a compelling backdrop to the way in which the author of Colossians reflects on the world, the elect, and the means to live rightly in light of the Christ-event.

Elgvin, “Judgment,” 159. More fully on resurrection in 4Q418 69 ii 7, see Puech, “Croyance”. In agreement, Goff, *Discerning*, 42. Also, Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 230.

77. Noting the rhetoric of prophetic literature in 4Q418 55 + 69 ii, Tigchelaar, “Counter-Wisdom,” 190 contrasts this with *Ben Sira* arguing the difference stems from *4QInstruction* reflecting a common milieu with 4QMysteries. He argues that the 2nd person plural discourses of 4Q418 69 ii and 4Q418 55 resemble 4QMysteries in which the sage’s wisdom represents a counter-wisdom to that espoused by the ungodly, i.e. the “foolish-minded ones” who claim to be wise. I note here a similarity with the author of Colossians who denigrates the opponent’s σοφία in Col 2:23.

78. Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 69.

79. Rightly, Elgvin, “Priestly,” 85 argues for “alternative milieus” than the ruling Temple circles.

In sum, *4QInstruction* should be read on its own terms and not through the interpretive grid of the Qumran sectarian literature. Written in Hebrew, the composition appears to have been composed sometime in the 2nd-century B.C.E., possibly around the time of Ben Sira, but prior to the founding of the *yahad*.⁸⁰ Although non-sectarian, the sage views the addressee as a member of a sub-set within Judaism. As I will discuss, ideas in *4QInstruction* are represented also in Colossians, namely that the addressee represents the elect, non-fleshly side of humanity who possesses the mystery of God, forgiveness of sins, protection from judgment, an inheritance with the angels, and the capacity to learn about the “mystery” in order to live rightly.

6.3 Patterns of Thought in *4QInstruction* Reflected in Colossians

The worldview and theological constructs in *4QInstruction*, including an emphasis on a “realized eschatology,” provide an antecedent to, and clarify, many of the ideas I identified in Colossians. I will begin by discussing the *רז נהיה*, the central concept of the composition from which all others radiate out like spokes on a wheel.⁸¹ Secondly, I will provide a short introduction to the text’s eschatological and cosmic frame including its apocalyptic two-age framework and emphasis on the Lordship of God in creation. This eschatological framework continually reinforces the division in humankind arising from God’s creation, namely eternal salvation for the elect and judgment for the ungodly. Thirdly, the text’s ethical dualism stems from the fact that the elect, a “spiritual people,” have been separated from the “flesh” (*בשר*) while the ungodly, a “fleshly spirit,” are corrupt and unable to walk rightly. Fourthly, revelation

80. See Elgvin, “Mystery,” 117 for composition “somewhere between 160-130 BCE.” Similarly, see Goff, *Worldly*, 228–32. Also, see editors discussion in *DJD* 34, 21, 76. For a summary of scholarly dating, see Harrington, “Recent,” 110–12.

81. Noting realized eschatology in revelation of God’s mysteries, see Elgvin, “Revelation,” 452. So also, Collins, “Wisdom,” 275 that “the elect are granted in this life to share the knowledge of the angels and gaze on the mystery that is hidden from most of humanity.”

that their names are written in a “book of memorial” serves to assure the elect of present forgiveness and future salvation. This contrasts with the revealed fate of the ungodly whose iniquities engraved in another heavenly book condemns them. Fifthly, revelation also indicates that the elect have a “lot” with the angels, a present state guaranteeing a future inheritance. This will lead, lastly, into a discussion of the sage’s exhortations for the elect to study the revealed רז (“mystery”) because growth in understanding, knowledge, and insight enables the elect to walk rightly. The conclusion will be that *4QInstruction* provides a significant antecedent to the worldview and theology of the Colossian author.

6.3.1 Revealed Mysteries: the *rāz nihyeh*

God’s mysteries have been revealed to the elect, but unlike apocalyptic literature, the source of revealed wisdom in *4QInstruction* does not arrive through angelic messengers, visionary ascents, dreams, or heavenly journeys.⁸² Instead, the addressee, a member of the elect, is exhorted to study and meditate on the רז נהיה, an enigmatic phrase occurring roughly twenty times.⁸³ It combines the word רז (*rāz*), “a Persian loan-word that means ‘mystery,’” with the Niphal participle of the verb ‘to be’ (נהיה, *nihyeh*).⁸⁴ The editors translated רז נהיה as “the mystery that is to come” placing emphasis on knowledge of the future.⁸⁵ Other scholars, though, argue that the phrase pertains to all of history (past, present, and future), thus preferring “the mystery that is to be.”⁸⁶ These scholars highlight that the phrase is used with reference to a tripartite

82. Noting this difference Elgin, “Judgment,” 136 points to the presence of other apocalyptic motifs, e.g. periodic, eschatological understanding of history, theme of divine wisdom revealed to the elect, and a heavenly book.

83. Noting that counts vary, see Harrington, “4 Ezra,” 32. For references, see Goff, *Discerning*, 13.

84. See Goff, “Pedagogical,” 61. In the HB, רז only occurs in the book of Daniel (9x) with reference to a heavenly “mystery” which Daniel alone interprets through revelation (e.g., Dan 2:18-10, 27-30, 47; 4:6).

85. *DJD* 34, 32.

86. E.g., Collins, “Wisdom,” 274. In-depth, see Goff, *Worldly*, 33–34. Recently, “mystère de l’existence,” by Rey, *4QInstruction*, 291–92.

division of time. 4Q418 123 ii 2-4 (cf. 4Q417 1 i 3) exemplifies this:

2. for the entering-in of years and the going-out of *times* []
3. everything which is to come to pass *in it*, why it has come to pass, and what will come to pass in it[]
4. *His time*, Which He uncovered to the ear of the understanding ones *about* the mystery which is to come (רז נהיה) []

The *rāz nihyeh*, then, brings in view the entire scope of history,⁸⁷ including knowledge of creation, eschatology, the division in humanity, salvation, and ethics.⁸⁸ As the editors point out, “it is not clear whether the רז נהיה is to be regarded as a written book, an esoteric oral tradition, or (less likely) history or creation itself (as something to be read and to be interpreted).”⁸⁹ That being said, it is clear that the *rāz nihyeh* has been revealed to the addressee, an “understanding one” (4Q417 1 i 14), who is one of “the *truly* chosen ones” (4Q418 69 ii 10). The elect are privy to God’s “heavenly” knowledge regarding all aspects of existence, and this revelation is to be their focal point of “study.”

Many of the topics and themes in *4QInstruction* come under the all-encompassing revelation of the *rāz nihyeh*. I will discuss these topics below, but I mention them here to contextualize the discussion. The *rāz nihyeh* reveals that God has determined each person’s course (4Q417 2 i 10-11) and through study of that structure, the elect are to live accordingly (4Q417 1 i 18). Arising out of the creation order, the *rāz nihyeh* provides insight into the division of humanity including its appointed nature (4Q418 77 2, 4). The composition deals extensively with eschatology, judgment of the ungodly and salvation of the righteous elect, and it does so with continual reference to the *rāz nihyeh* (e.g., 4Q417 1 i 3, 6, 8, 18, 21).⁹⁰ With knowledge that judgment approaches, the sage exhorts the addressee “in righteousness shalt thou walk” (4Q416 2 iii 10), an admonition accomplished through study and growth in understanding of the *rāz nihyeh* (4Q417 1 i 10).

87. Goff, “Reading,” 265–66.

88. Summarized by Lange, *Weisheit*, 60.

89. *DJD* 34, 9.

90. Collins, “Wisdom,” 273.

In sum, the *rāz nihyeh* pertains to the entire course of the cosmos and everything within it which God created, presently administers, and will ultimately judge. The *rāz nihyeh*, then, provides the elect with “heavenly” knowledge that frames their understanding of the cosmos, becomes the focal point of their study, and guides their behavior. In what follows, I will expound on these themes, and argue that Colossians fits remarkably well within this pattern of ideas. The author explains to “the elect of God” (Col 3:12) that the “mystery hidden for ages” has been “revealed” (φανερώω) only to them (Col 1:26). In Christ, the “mystery” of God, the elect will find “hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge” (Col 1:27; cf. 2:3). The author exhorts growth in “wisdom,” “understanding,” “knowledge,” and “insight” of Christ, God’s “mystery,” (1:9-10, 28; cf. 2:2-3; 3:16) so that the elect may “walk” worthy (1:10; cf. 2:6; 4:5).

6.3.2 Ethical Dualism and No “Flesh” for a “Spiritual People”

In this section, I will argue that the sage of *4QInstruction* views humankind dualistically, consisting of a people characterized by a “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר) and a “spiritual people” (עם רוח). The elect, “a spiritual people,” have had their “flesh” removed while the ungodly, a “spirit of flesh,” have not.⁹¹ Thus, the ungodly are unable cognitively to meditate rightly, to understand the “mystery,” and to walk ethically.⁹² This pattern of thought provides an antecedent for ideas expressed within Colossians.

4QInstruction utilizes a rare phrase, “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר), that provides significant insights into its view of the existence of the elect. The phrase also occurs in the *Hodayot* (1QH^a XIII 13; XVII 25), but due to the *Hodayot*’s theological

91. See Elgvin, “Revelation,” 449, and also, Elgvin, “Judgment,” 139–40.

92. Despite its ethical dualism, Elgvin, “Revelation,” 448 notes, “Sap. Work A does not stress the sinfulness of man—including the men of the Community—as do the *Hodayot* and the hymn in 1QS X-XI; its [*4QInstruction*] admonitions seem to express a more optimistic anthropology.” Similarly, Colossians expresses less determinism and a more positive anthropology than 1 Peter.

anthropology, carries a different meaning. As discussed in chapter four, “flesh” (בשר) in the *Hodayot* refers to human frailty and contains evil desires. Therefore, all people, the elect included, are “fleshly” and plagued by inherent concupiscence battling within them. In contrast, *4QInstruction* utilizes the term “flesh” (בשר) solely with reference to the ungodly.⁹³ The phrase “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר) serves to label one group, the ungodly, and to highlight a key characteristic of that group, namely that unlike the elect the ungodly have not been separated from the “spirit of flesh.” This different usage was first noted by A. Lange and subsequently expanded upon at length by J. Frey.⁹⁴ The phrase occurs three times (4Q416 1 12; 4Q417 1 i 17; 4Q418 81 2). I will examine each in succession.

4Q416 1 10-18 provides evidence of the text’s ethical dualism of humankind arising from the presence/absence of the “flesh” (בשר). In 4Q416 1, the cosmological and eschatological context frames the phrase.⁹⁵ In line 10, the sage proclaims that God “shall pronounce judgement.” The outcome of judgment depends upon one’s “lot” or “inheritance” which refers to placement by God into one of two divisions of humanity. Judgment of the ungodly and exoneration of the righteous occurring here frame the entire work.⁹⁶ Moreover, these themes establish an apocalyptic frame of reference for interpreting the phrase “spirit of flesh.”⁹⁷

Lines 10-13 refer to final judgment and indicate that “fleshly” humanity will be destroyed.⁹⁸ As the editors note, the following lines become progressively more fragmentary and obscure, yet the thought within which “spirit of flesh” occurs is clear

93. In agreement, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 301 who notes “Le sens de בשר רוח dans *4QInstruction* est sensiblement différent de celui des Hymnes . . . Contrairement aux Hymnes, où le syntagme désignait l’humanité en général, l’expression a ici un caractère fortement négatif et désigne une catégorie opposée à Dieu.”

94. See, Lange, *Weisheit*, 86–87. In depth, Frey, “Notion”. Most recently, see Frey, “Flesh,” 396.

95. Tigchelaar, *Increase*, 180–86.

96. García Martínez, “Wisdom,” 10.

97. On the apocalyptic eschatology in 4Q416 1, see Elgvin, “Apocalyptic,” 24.

98. On the enduring duality in humankind concluding in judgment, see Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 52.

and sufficiently self-contained.⁹⁹ Humanity is divided into two groups and each faces different outcomes when God pronounces judgment from heaven. The writer utilizes a pair of contrasts in lines 10 and 12 to heighten this dualism.¹⁰⁰ Line ten indicates judgment will come upon “the work of wickedness, But all His faithful Children will be accepted with favour by [Him.” Line twelve states that “every spirit of flesh *will be destroyed* (?). But the sons of Heave[n] *sh[all rejoice in the day]*.” While the labels change in line twelve, the thought is parallel. “Work of wickedness” (עבודת רשעה, l. 10) corresponds to and characterizes “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר, l. 12).¹⁰¹ Because these people have defiled themselves in wickedness, they will tremble, crying out in fright at judgment prior to their destruction (l. 11).¹⁰² On the other hand, “His faithful Children” (בני אמתו, l. 10), the elect, are linked with and share the lot of “the sons of Heaven” (בני השמי[ם], l. 12), the angels. The elect will receive acceptance at judgment and the angels will rejoice.¹⁰³

Elgvin argues 4Q416 1 distinguishes “the sons of truth” from “the sons of evil” by reconstructing the phrase כול בני עולה (“all the sons of evil”) in line three (4Q416 1 3).¹⁰⁴ While the *editio princeps* does not include this phrase in its reconstruction, בני עולה does occur in the two line fragment 4Q418a 201 2: The text reads:¹⁰⁵

1. [by the mystery] that is to come God has made known the
inher[itance of]
2. []and it was shut upon all the sons of in[iquity]

4Q418a 201, then, provides evidence that the ungodly are referred to as “sons of

99. *DJD* 34, 85.

100. In agreement Macaskill, “Creation,” 219–20. Also, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 301 that “La structure antithétique du passage est claire.”

101. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 238.

102. Rightly, Elgvin, “Judgment,” 151. On the response of trembling, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 236 concludes, “L’élément central est unifié par le vocabulaire de la crainte.”

103. That בני אמתו (“His faithful Children”) refers to elect humans, not angels, see *DJD* 34, 85. Further, as Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 53 points out, “His faithful Children,” are elsewhere called “men of good pleasure” (אנשי רצון, 4Q418 81 10).

104. See Elgvin, “Judgment,” 140 According to Elgvin, “Judgment,” 146 n. 52, 4Q416 1 3 [his line 4] should include “sons of disobedience” based on his reconstruction from 4Q418 frags. 73, 201, 213, 212.

105. *DJD* 34, 422.

iniquity.” Also, the sage refers to punishment which is “engraved . . . by God *against* all the *ini[quities of]* the children of שוֹיָה” (4Q417 1 i 15) further confirming the view articulated in 4Q416 1. Humanity is described in anthropological terms and divided into two groups, the elect, or those separated from the “flesh,” and the ungodly, characterized as “flesh.”¹⁰⁶ The group characterized as “spirit of flesh” are engaged in wickedness, labeled as “sons of iniquity,” and face God’s approaching punishment at judgment. Thus, the presence of the “flesh” corresponds with the text’s dualistic view of humankind and with God’s judgment.

The themes and labels in 4Q416 1 resonate with Colossians. In 4Q416 1 12, the ungodly are explicitly characterized as בִּשְׂר while the sage considers the elect separated from the בִּשְׂר.¹⁰⁷ This parallels the pattern of thought in Colossians where the elect are explicitly described as having had their “flesh” (σάρξ) removed (Col 2:11). In 4Q416 1 10 (cf. ll. 11-13), the ungodly defile themselves and engage in “work of wickedness” (עֲבוֹדַת רָשָׁעָה). Thus, wickedness is attributed to every “spirit of flesh.” The elect, however, are no longer associated with works of evil. Similarly in Col 3:5,8, the “parts of the earth” (Col 3:5), the vices, are attributed to the ungodly. In *4QInstruction*, the ungodly are labeled “sons of iniquity” (4Q418a 201 2).¹⁰⁸ Similarly, the ungodly in Colossians are labeled the “sons of disobedience” (οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας, Col 3:6). The sage declares that God “will pronounce judgment” upon the “work of wickedness” [cf. the “sons of in[iquity]” (בְּנֵי עֲוֹלָהָה) resulting in destruction of the “spirit of flesh” (4Q416 1 10-13). The ungodly in Colossians are also characterized by vices and walk in wickedness (Col 3:5, 7, 8), thus the author promises that “the wrath

106. *Contra* Tigchelaar, *Increase*, 186–88 that רוּחַ בִּשְׂר is not “undisputedly negative,” but implies an opposition between “ignorance” and “understanding.” Later, Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 108–9 cites the work of Collins and Goff who build off of Frey’s work and arrives at a different conclusion writing, “different kinds of people or humanity are described in anthropological terms.” The latter interpretation rightly recognizes that ignorance defines the ungodly, arises from the created order, is part-and-parcel with the division in humankind, and applies only to that group characterized as “flesh.”

107. See Frey, “Notion,” 217. Also, Frey, “Flesh,” 392.

108. Cf. 1QH^a XIV 33 “children of guilt” (בְּנֵי אֲשָׁמָה) in *DJD* 40,197.

(ὀργή) of God will come upon [the sons of disobedience]” (3:6).¹⁰⁹ In both texts, then, the ungodly are characterized as ones who are “fleshly,” engage in evil works, face God’s judgment and will be destroyed.

The second occurrence of “spirit of flesh” (4Q417 1 i 17) arrives in a column of text (4Q417 1 i 1-27) that further demonstrates the division of humanity. 4Q417 1 i exhibits a similar theological, cosmological, and eschatological pattern of ideas as those noted within 4Q416 1; therefore, parallels with Colossians identified in 4Q416 1 may also exist in 4Q417 1 i.¹¹⁰ This is in fact the case. The twenty-seven line text of 4Q417 1 i contains a striking number of parallels with Colossians, i.e. exhortations for the addressee to study “the mystery that is to come” (ll. 6, 12, 14, 18, 25), a depiction of God as the source of knowledge/wisdom (l. 8), connections between understanding and walking rightly (ll. 10, 12, 19), and discussion of the inheritance/reward of the elect (ll. 14-16) which is contrasted with the punishment ordained for the ungodly (l. 14).

4Q417 1 i indicates that an inability to engage in “meditation” (הגיו) stems from the presence of the “flesh” (בשר). In other words, the sage depicts an inverse relationship between cognitive capacity and presence of the בשר. I will argue this provides an intriguing backdrop to Colossians 2:18 where in the midst of disparaging the ascetic and visionary practices of the opponents, the author diagnoses the opponent’s “fleshly mind” (ὁ νοῦς τῆς σαρκὸς) as a cause for their thinking such proscriptions were of any utility. My argument will proceed in three steps: firstly, I will discuss the motif of cognition in 4Q417 1 i; secondly, I will demonstrate that the elect, “a spiritual people,” are able to meditate; and thirdly, I will show that the ungodly lack this capacity because they are “a fleshly spirit,” that is a people of the “flesh.”

The motif of cognition permeates the first half of the column (ll. 1-13) and is readily observed through its choice of verbs. The sage exhorts the addressee to “gaze”

109. Evidence from *4QInstruction* lends weight to [ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας] in Col 3:6 as original.

110. On similarities between 4Q416 1 and 4Q417 1 i, see Harrington, “4 Ezra,” 345.

(נבט) upon, “ponder” (שכל), “meditate” (הגה) on, and “study” (דרש) the mysteries of God (l. 2) and “the mystery that is to come” (רז נהיה, ll. 2, 3, 6, 18; cf. 21, 25).¹¹¹ The result is that the addressee will “know” (ידה, l. 6) truth and iniquity, wisdom and foolishness (ll. 6-7) and “discern” (ידה, l. 8) between good and evil. These exhortations are not circumscribed by a time period or stage of life. Instead, the addressee is to “investigate” (שחר) these revealed truths “early and continually” (l. 12). The motif of cognition is further emphasized by the title given by the sage to the addressee, namely “O understanding one” (מבין, ll. 1, 14), “O understanding child” (בן מבין, l. 18), and “O sage child” (בן משכיל, l. 25). These labels function to accentuate the value in possessing proper mental acuties and gaining understanding of the “mystery.” The reason for the pervasive emphasis on intellectual inquiry derives from the fact that growth in understanding, in knowledge of God’s glory, acts, and mysteries (ll. 12-13), results in the addressee being able to “walk perfect in all his actions” (ll. 12; cf. 10, 19). I will return to the connection between understanding and behavior in the final section of the chapter. Here I note the combination of an educational perspective, cognitive rumination (“meditation”), an apocalyptic worldview, and an emphasis on understanding revealed mysteries.¹¹² This combination serves as an intriguing antecedent to the emphases I identified within Colossians.

Secondly, *4QInstruction* indicates that only the elect, “a spiritual people” (עם רוח, l. 16),¹¹³ possess the capability to think or “meditate” correctly, thus only the elect can grow in understanding and walk rightly. A differentiating factor for the capacity of “meditation” (הגוי, l. 17) appears to be absence of the בשר. The end of line 13 through 18, often referred to as the *Vision of Hagu* pericope, is a relatively self-contained unit beginning with “O understanding one.” Its discussion of punishments engraved before God, a book of memorial of the elect including a vision of meditation (or *Hagu*), the

111. On the connection between מבינים and “learning” admonitions, see Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 68. Also, Goff, “Pedagogical,” 65.

112. Goff, “Pedagogical,” 59.

113. On עם רוח, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 298 notes the phrase “does not find any parallel in the whole of the literature we currently have.”

referent for שׁוֹת and אֲנוֹשׁ, and the meaning of a “fleshly spirit” and a “spiritual people” has generated much scholarly discussion.¹¹⁴ For my purposes, I will focus the discussion here on the division of humanity and the relationship between “flesh” and the mind. 4Q417 1 i 13-18 reads:

13. . . . But thou,
14. O understanding one, study (*inherit* ?) thy reward, Remembering the *re[quital, for]* it comes. Engraved is the/ty ordinance/destiny, And ordained is all the punishment.
15. For engraved *is* that which is ordained by God *against* all the *ini[quities]* of the children of שׁוֹת, And written in His presence *is* a book of memorial
16. of those who keep His word. And that *is* the appearance/*vision of the meditation* on a book of memorial. And He /שׁוֹת(?) gave it as an inheritance to Man/Enosh Together with a spiritual people. F[o]r
17. according to the pattern of the Holy Ones *is his* (man’s) fashioning. But no more *has* meditation been given to a (?) fleshly spirit, For *it* (sc. flesh) knew/knows not the difference between
18. [goo]d and evil according to the judgement of *its* [sp]irit. *vacat* And thou, O understanding child, gaze on the mystery that is to come, And know . . .

As in 4Q416 1, 4Q417 1 i clearly divides humankind into two groups, e.g. “fleshly spirit” and “spiritual people” based on their anthropology.¹¹⁵ The “children of שׁוֹת” (l. 15) are a “fleshly spirit” (רוּחַ בָּשָׂר, l. 17), with “flesh” denoting the division of humanity characterized as inherently sinful and opposed to God.¹¹⁶ The addressee is identified with those who keep God’s word, labeled as “a spiritual people” (עַם רוּחַ, l. 16).¹¹⁷ The “spiritual people” and אֲנוֹשׁ (“Man/Enoch”) were created in the “pattern of the Holy Ones” (תְּבִנִית קְדוֹשִׁים), that is like the angels (l. 17).¹¹⁸ As Collins cogently argues, “if God fashioned אֲנוֹשׁ in the likeness of the Holy Ones . . . then his inclination (*yisrô*) is in their likeness too.”¹¹⁹ The implication, then, is that “a spiritual people,” and by association the addressee, have been separated from the “flesh.”¹²⁰

114. For list of substantial treatments, see Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 103 n. 2, and for a list of shorter discussions, see Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 104 n. 3.

115. In agreement with Collins, “Likeness,” 616. See also Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 108–9. In agreement, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 298.

116. That רוּחַ בָּשָׂר indicates an ethical and eschatological dualism in 4Q417 1 i, see Frey, “Flesh,” 393. See also *DJD* 34, 163 that שׁוֹת most likely does not refer to the biblical patriarch Seth (Adam’s son) and remains obscure. Context clearly indicates that בְּנֵי שׁוֹת is a negative title.

117. *Contra* Lange, *Weisheit*, 88–89 that “people of spirit” refers to angels.

118. Collins, “Likeness,” 616–17.

119. So too for “a spiritual people,” see Collins, “Likeness,” 614.

120. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 177.

Thirdly, the ungodly's inability to think correctly because they are "a fleshly spirit" is bound up with the eschatological division of humankind. Knowledge of this fact arrives through revelation of eschatological fates recorded in two writings kept in heaven.¹²¹ In one writing, God has engraved the iniquities of the ungodly which condemn them (ll. 14-15). In another, a "book of memorial" (ספר זכרון) lists the names of those who keep God's word (ll. 15-16).¹²² The "book of memorial" was not given to the "spirit of flesh" because it lacks the capacity to discern good and evil (ll. 17-18).¹²³ In contrast, the book as well as "meditation" was given to a "spiritual people" (עם רוח, ln. 16).

4Q417 i 16 may associate the presence of the Spirit with the ability to think rightly. In l. 16, the text has a supralinear עם added by a second scribe over עם רוח. As the editors discuss, the text of the first scribe would be translated "he (God or Enosh) bequeathed it (הגוי 'meditation') *together with* the Spirit to Enosh (or to humanity)."¹²⁴ This reading indicates that God gave both meditation and the Spirit to the elect, and the gift of God's Spirit may be associated with removal of the "flesh" and the gift of "meditation." This reading provides a striking antecedent to the idea in Colossians that the elect have received God's Spirit, are separated from the "flesh," no longer possess a "fleshly mind" (ὁ νοῦς τῆς σαρκὸς), and are enabled to study the "mystery" hidden in Christ.

In either reading (עם רוח or עם רוח), "meditation" is given to one group of humanity and not to the other. In contrast to the elect, "no more *has* meditation been given to *a* (?) fleshly spirit" (l. 17).¹²⁵ Tigchelaar, correctly I think, argues that "meditation" (הגוי) in 4Q417 l i refers to cognitive insight, "the ability or faculty to

121. Noting the call to study revealed wisdom in *4QInstruction* includes revelation of eschatological fates, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 59.

122. Cf. Mal 3:16 for a similar sentence regarding a "book of memorial," see *DJD* 34, 163.

123. See Frey, "Flesh," 393 Also, Goff, *Worldly*, 34.

124. *DJD* 34, 164.

125. Noting that since the days of Enosh "the fleshly in spirit have not possessed the power of meditation, see *DJD* 34, 166.

meditate,” and thus relates to the Greek word νοῦς (“mind”).¹²⁶ The elect possess a different kind of “mind” than the ungodly, the former equipped with the cognitive capacity of “meditation” while those characterized by the “flesh” lack such abilities. Recognition of this aids in grasping the sage’s repeated exhortations to the addressee to engage in intellectual activity and learning in the first half of the text, activities predicated upon receipt of the gift of “meditation” discussed in the second half.¹²⁷ Clearly, then, the “flesh” (בשר) directly correlates to ethical dualism, eschatological dualism, and “meditation.” In summary of 4Q417 1 i, possession of the “flesh” (בשר) correlates with not being a member of the elect, not receiving the revealed “mystery,” having impaired cognition (“meditation,” הָגִי), lacking the capacity to study the mysteries of God, having one’s iniquities recorded by God in a heavenly book, and facing God’s judgment.

This sheds light on the phrase ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ (“by his mind of flesh”) in Col 2:18.¹²⁸ In context, the author condemns “him” (αὐτός), an opponent, for unmerited conceit concerning visions, and diagnoses “him” as possessing a “fleshly mind,” which serves as a derogatory label. By this, the author indicates that the opponent lacked the capacity to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil, and truth from error due to his “fleshly mind.”¹²⁹ This recalls 4Q417 1 i 17-18 in which the sage explains that “no more *has* meditation been given to *a* (?) fleshly spirit, For *it* (sc. flesh) knew/knows not the difference between [goo]d and evil according to the judgement of *its* [sp]irit.” If *4QInstruction* undergirds the thought here, then “flesh” does not equal physical substance, but instead refers to an aspect of the ungodly, possibly an apocalyptic power, from which the elect have been separated.¹³⁰

126. Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 111–12.

127. On this connection, see Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 116.

128. The phrase is not found in the ‘undisputed’ Pauline epistles. Cf. Rom 8:6, φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς.

129. The νοῦς “is that part of the human mentality which can distinguish good from evil,” see Bruce, *Colossians*, 122 n. 137.

130. *Contra* Dunn, *Colossians*, 185 who argues that a Hellenistic antithesis of “mind” as human rationality penetrated by the divine Logos and “flesh” as physical substance undergirds Col 2:18.

The charge of a “fleshly mind” may in fact be one of the author’s most damning rebukes. By associating the opponent with the “flesh” (σάρξ), the author may be indicating that the opponent is not “in Christ,” a reading strengthened by the next verse. The author describes the opponent as not holding fast to the “head,” that is to Christ (Col 2:19). With salvation, clearly “in Christ,” what then of those apart from him? Further, as discussed in chapter five, to be “in Christ” is to have been separated from the “flesh” (e.g., Col 2:11). Therefore, and with the author’s ethical dualism in view, to be associated with the “flesh” is to be associated with the “earthly” realm, controlled by “the authority of darkness,” and not transferred into the kingdom of Christ (Col 1:13). However, it must be said that the author’s language may be heightened rhetoric meant to criticize the opponent as one who operates *like* the ungodly. Yet, by labeling the opponent as vainly conceited and judging wrongly due to his “fleshly mind,” the author describes the opponent with one of the key markers of the ungodly. At a minimum, this label raises doubts regarding the opponent’s place among the elect. But if the pattern of thought in 4Q417 1 i undergirds the thought here, then the author has moved beyond an inflammatory remark to a defamatory declaration. Labeling the opponent’s “mind” (νοῦς) as “fleshly” (σάρξ) not only indicates that he is prohibited from thinking rightly and distinguishing good from evil but it also associates the opponent with an aspect of the “old man” (ὁ παλαιός ἄνθρωπος, 3:9), namely the apocalyptic power of the “flesh,” thus placing him under judgment.

The third and final occurrence of רוּחַ בִּשְׂר (spirit in flesh) opens 4Q418 81. The text begins with a declaration by the sage to the addressee that God has “separated thee from every fleshly spirit (רוּחַ בִּשְׂר), *So that thou mightest* be separated from every thing that He hates,” (ll. 1-2). Here again, the sage distinguishes between two categories of people.¹³¹ בִּשְׂר, Frey rightly concludes, “characterizes *sinful* humanity, not humanity as a whole, and the author and readers of the instruction seem to

131. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 314–15.

consider themselves separate from those ‘fleshly spirits’.”¹³² Unlike the speaker in the *Hodayot* who viewed all humanity as sinful flesh, the sage in *4QInstruction* views himself and the addressee as members of the elect who have been separated from all *רוח בשר*, a sphere or entity opposed to God and His will.¹³³

The creation order undergirds this state of affairs.¹³⁴ 4Q418 81 2-7 indicates that God as Creator “is the source of each man’s inheritance,”¹³⁵ creating an “inheritance” (*נחלה*) for both divisions of humankind (ll. 2-3). For the addressee, one of the righteous elect, God has “set” them into an inheritance (ll. 3, 9, 15), a major theme of 4Q418 81.¹³⁶ This inheritance contains both present and future aspects. In addition to removal from the sphere/power of “flesh,” “inheritance” includes “insight” (4Q418 81 9; cf. 4Q417 1 i 16, “meditation”) and a “lot” (*גורל*, l. 5) “among all the [Go]dly [Ones]” (l. 4), that is inclusive within the elect community, as well as a lot among the “Holy Ones,” that is with the angels (ll. 1, 11, 12).¹³⁷ Therefore, an aspect of inheritance is that the elect shares or will share in angelic privileges, a point I will discuss in the next section. In any case, present inheritance includes the responsibility of the elect to bless and honor the angels whose lot he shares.¹³⁸ Finally, this present *נחלה* points towards an eschatological promise. The addressee is reminded of his future *נחלה* which he will receive from God’s hand, if he glorifies (or “honors”) the “Holy Ones” (l. 11).¹³⁹ This may clarify why the addressee is repeatedly exhorted to

132. Noting that the anthropology of *4QInstruction* “is characterized by a kind of cosmic and eschatological dualism,” see Frey, “Notion,” 217.

133. Frey, “Flesh,” 400.

134. That the duality stems from election and is “quasiment ontologique,” see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 316.

135. Elgvin, “Mystery,” 121.

136. Rightly, Elgvin, “Revelation,” 442. Cf. 4Q416 2 iii 11-12, which the editors note, *נחלת כבוד* (“glorious inheritance”) could refer to “a glorious earthly lot,” see *DJD* 34, 119. But, as in 4Q418 81 3, 9, 15, Elgvin is probably correct that the meaning of *המשילה* “is God setting the elect into a glorious inheritance,” see Elgvin, “Mystery,” 122.

137. *Contra* Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 184, 4Q418 81 1-13 is not addressed to a priest. That reference to a priest in a sapiential text seems unlikely, see *DJD* 34, 305. *Contra* Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 179, repeated exhortations to bless and honor the “Holy Ones” is not “a reference to the laity of Israel who are ‘holy’ whilst Aaron is ‘holy of holies’.” That angels are view, see Elgvin, “Mystery,” 121. In agreement, Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction,” 248–53. Also, Goff, “Reading,” 279.

138. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction,” 248.

139. A precondition of inheritance, see Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction,” 248.

remember his “inheritance,” his “portion,” and his “glory” given to him by God.¹⁴⁰

4Q418 81 demonstrates that the addressee, a representative of the elect community, is separated from every “fleshly spirit,” has insight, and possesses a lot which includes an inheritance with the angels.

I pause briefly to note that *4QInstruction* and Colossians differ in what each posits as the cause of removal of the negative flesh. *4QInstruction*, in contrast to Colossians, does not emphasize interiorization of the Spirit. This is not to say that *4QInstruction* never associates the “spirit” with the addressee. For example, the addressee is exhorted “for no price *exchange* (?) thy holy spirit (רוח קדשכה), 7. For there is no price equal in value [to it]” (4Q416 2 ii 6-7).¹⁴¹ However, the text never explicitly identifies this as God’s Spirit much less places emphasis on indwelling.¹⁴² Yet, it must be said that the text’s highly fragmentary state could be a partial cause for the paucity of spirit references. As it stands, Colossians more closely resembles the *Hodayot*’s emphasis on the gift, presence, and activity of God’s Spirit within the elect. The speaker places extraordinary emphasis on the fact that insight and the capacity to walk rightly despite his “fleshly” existence are *entirely* due to God’s gracious gift of his Spirit (1QH^a V 30; VI 19-33; VIII 18; XX 14f.; XI 22; XIX 13; XX 14-16).

However, Colossians works out the impact of the interiorization of God’s Spirit very differently than does the *Hodayot*. As I discussed in chapter five, Colossians views the elect as having been separated from the negative “flesh.” In contrast, the *Hodayot* indicates that reception of God’s Spirit does *not* separate the elect from the “flesh.” In the *Hodayot*, “flesh” refers to physical existence, not an apocalyptic power. Therefore, election and interiorization of God’s Spirit does not change the “flesh.” In contrast, “flesh” can refer in Colossians to an apocalyptic power, and it is removed by faith “in Christ.” As a result, the elect, no longer “fleshly,” may put to death “desires,” and thus, do not exhibit an interior battle against “fleshly desire.” Therefore,

140. Harrington, “Approaches,” 271.

141. *DJD* 34, 93.

142. Goff, “Reading,” 275.

Colossians more closely resembles the pattern of ideas expressed within *4QInstruction*, i.e. a negative, “fleshly” anthropology for the ungodly, but a positive, non-fleshly anthropology for the elect. As a result, neither text exhibits the psychological dualism evident within the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter.¹⁴³ Elgvin, then, is correct in his earlier assessment that *4QInstruction* expresses “a more optimistic anthropology” than does the *Hodayot*.¹⁴⁴ In sum, *4QInstruction* provides an antecedent for the dualistic view of humankind in Colossians and positive anthropology of the elect who have had their “flesh” removed.

6.3.3 Eschatology and Coming Judgment

In *4QInstruction*, eschatology undergirds ethical exhortations. As in apocalyptic literature, *4QInstruction* divides history into periods.¹⁴⁵ God’s historical acts are recounted because they pertain to the present and point to the future.¹⁴⁶ This periodization of history is most notable through the sage’s employment of the terms and phrases such as “the epoch of truth” (קִץ הָאֵמֶת, 4Q416 1 13; cf. “His time,” קִצּוֹ, 4Q123 ii 4) and “during all periods” (עַם כּוֹל קְצִים, 4Q418 81 13; cf. בְּכוֹל קְצִים, 4Q418 69 ii 14).¹⁴⁷ Further, the division of time marks out the present as distinct from a coming period of judgment.

4QInstruction discusses judgment, including the fate of the wicked and the righteous, in 4Q416 1,¹⁴⁸ focusing particularly on judgment of the wicked in 4Q418 69 ii.¹⁴⁹ Knowledge of future judgment stems from possession of “the mystery that is to

143. Noted in 1QH^a, see *DJD* 34, 33.

144. Elgvin, “Revelation,” 448.

145. See Elgvin, “Revelation,” 451. That periodization of history is a mark of an apocalyptic worldview, see Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 152.

146. Similar to apocalyptic literature, see Collins, “Wisdom,” 275.

147. According to Elgvin, “Mystery,” 125 the phrase עַם כּוֹל קְצִים refers to salvation history divided into periods.

148. Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 51.

149. See Elgvin, “Judgment,” 128. On allusions to judgment, see Goff, *Discerning*, 44 n. 142.

come,” and study of this revelation indicates that the lot of the righteous is a glorious resurrection existence with the angels whereas the destiny of the “foolish-minded ones” is forthcoming destruction.¹⁵⁰ I will begin by discussing 4Q418 69 ii. I will return to 4Q416 1 later to demonstrate the sage’s strategy of opening with God’s creation (4Q416 1 1-9) to frame discussion of judgment (4Q416 1 10-18), thereby placing all of history (salvation) under God’s sovereignty.

4Q418 69 4-9 vividly depicts the nature of judgment in order to encourage the addressees to righteous conduct. Utilizing the second person plural and addressed to the “foolish-minded ones” (l. 4),¹⁵¹ the sage rhetorically asks “what is *judgement* to a man who has not been *established*?” (l. 5). In a judgment scene of thunder with “the foundations of the firmament” crying out (l. 9), the sage answers darkly that “the everlasting *pit* shall your return be. For it (sc. the pit) shall awaken [*to condemn*] you[r] sin, [And the creatures of] *its* dark places [] shall cry out *against* your *pleading*” (l. 6). The sage declares that the “foolish-minded” will be destroyed and “the children of iniquity shall not be found anymore, [And a]ll those who *hold fast to* wickedness shall *with*er [*away*]” (l. 8). The “foolish-minded ones” are consigned to an “everlasting pit” (לְשַׁחַת עוֹלָם, 4Q418 69 ii 7; cf. 4Q418 162 4, “eternal destruction”).¹⁵² This scene, as Adams correctly notes, “coheres with the tenor of other passages in 4QInstruction.”¹⁵³ For example, in 4Q417 2 i 14-16 the sage warns,

14. And do not *overlook thy* own [si]ns. Be like *a humble man* when thou contendest for a judgement *in favour of him*[, But vengeance from thy enemies]
 15. thou shalt take. And then God will *be seen*, and His anger *will abate*, and He will overlook thy sins. [Fo]r *before* [*His anger*]
 16. none will stand, And who will be declared righteous when *He gives* judgement? And without forgiveness [h]ow [can any poor man stand before Him?]

150. Elgvin, “Revelation,” 457.

151. That the unusual second plural indicates instructions “integrated” into the composition, see *DJD* 34, 14. That 4Q418 69 ii 4-15 and 4Q418 55 correspond to the milieu of 4QMysteries, see Tigchelaar, “Counter-Wisdom,” 179–80. On unitary composition, see Goff, *Discerning*, 46. Also, Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 222.

152. Context favors a local meaning of “pit” versus destruction, see *DJD* 34, 285. That “pit” is synonymous with *shéol*, see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 249.

153. Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 223.

Solemn reminders of approaching judgment precede exhortations and heighten the importance of ethical conduct.

This is how the theophanic judgment scene in the first half of 4Q418 69 ii prepares the way for the exhortations that follow. The sage exhorts “the *truly* chosen ones” not to grow weary in seeking “understanding” (בִּנְיָה) and “knowledge” (תְּלָה) in 4Q418 69 ii 10-15.¹⁵⁴ I will explore lines 10-15 more fully in section 6.3.4.2. Here, I note that reminders of judgment “foster ethical behavior.”¹⁵⁵ As Rey rightly concludes, 4Q418 69 ii (cf. 4Q416 1) utilizes an eschatological judgment scene on a cosmic scale to reinforce its ethical categories, i.e. the righteous elect behave one way and the ungodly another.¹⁵⁶

The sage’s use of eschatology in *4QInstruction* illuminates the Colossian author’s reference to God’s coming wrathful judgment (cf. ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, Col 3:6) and his use of ethical distinctions to undergird exhortations. Reflecting a similar apocalyptic periodization of history through the markers πότε-νυνί (Col 1:21-22; cf. 3:7-8), Colossians describes a radical disjuncture between the elect’s lives prior to and after faith in Christ. Thus, the cross severed history and divides humanity. Response to the Christ-event determines eschatological fate and ethical behavior. In Colossians, the reminder of God’s judgment occurs just prior to the author’s most paraenetic section (Col 3:5-4:1). Recognition of the pattern in *4QInstruction* highlights the author’s strategy. Eschatology precedes paraenetic exhortation to encourage the elect to shed practices associated with the ungodly and to “put on,” through “knowledge” (ἐπίγνωσις, Col 3:5-10), practices associated with their existence as the “elect of God” (Col 3:12ff.).

154. That ll. 10-15 are “une exhortation à persévérer,” see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 252.

155. Goff, *Worldly*, 204.

156. See Rey, *4QInstruction*, 242. However, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 254 incorrectly, I think, dismisses an ontological distinction here. The “non-fleshly” elect possess revealed heavenly mysteries and behave differently than the “fleshly” ungodly.

6.3.3.1 Distant Horizon of Judgment

4QInstruction does not exhibit “clear signs of a tense *Naherwartung* (‘expectation’)” in its discussion of judgment.¹⁵⁷ This is unlike the horizon of judgment in the *Hodayot*. While the sage of *4QInstruction* indicates that judgment is assured, he never presents the end as imminent,¹⁵⁸ nor does he indicate they are living in the final period.¹⁵⁹ There is no discussion of an eschatological battle and no persecution of the elect (much less on-going systemic persecution by the ungodly), motifs central to the *Hodayot*.¹⁶⁰ Thus, suffering of the elect plays virtually no part in the eschatology, worldview, and theological understanding of the elect in *4QInstruction*.

Colossians, likewise, reminds the elect of God’s approaching “wrath” (ὀργή, 3:6) upon the ungodly. However against the perspective in 1 Peter, the author does not emphasize that “the end is near.”¹⁶¹ Colossians, like *4QInstruction*, places little weight on suffering (outside the author’s oblique reference to his own struggles, cf. Col 1:24) and gives no indication that the recipients are facing persecution. Thus, both texts reflect a similar worldview in which judgment lies on the distant horizon and is discussed in the course of “normal” relationships with outsiders. This contrasts with the worldview shared by the *Hodayot* and 1 Peter in which judgment is imminent and provides the elect hope that suffering caused by the hostile ungodly will end soon.

6.3.3.2 Creation and the Lordship of God as a Frame for the “Mystery” and Ethics

157. E.g., 4Q416 1 and 4Q418 69, see Elgvin, “Judgment,” 142. Noting this difference in comparison to the sectarian text *4QMysteries*, see Elgvin, “Priestly,” 73.

158. Thus, Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 60 notes *4QInstruction* is not “crisis literature,” a label befitting many of the psalms in the *Hodayot*.

159. Goff, *Discerning*, 45.

160. On the absence of this sectarian motif in *4QInstruction*, see Elgvin, “Revelation,” 458.

161. I note that if the Colossian author reflects *4QInstruction*, then lack of an imminent *parousia* should be expected; therefore, Colossians’ lack of an imminent *parousia* may *not* indicate a later dating when such expectations had supposedly receded.

4Q416 1 represents the first column in the composition and instructs on eschatological judgment,¹⁶² but of note here is that the first nine lines frame both this discussion and the composition as a whole, through language of the lordship of God in creation. By bringing in view God's creative activity and dominion over his creation, *4QInstruction* places instructions and admonitions under the banner of God's sovereignty. The sage purposely opens with reminders that the κόσμος was created by God. Everything, including evil, remains firmly under God's authority and will be subject to his judgment.¹⁶³ Furthermore, recognition of the lordship of God serves as a warrant for ethical exhortations. The sage's emphasis on the lordship of God in creation at the beginning of *4QInstruction* provides insight into the purpose of the Christ-hymn in Colossians (Col 1:15-20).

In this section, I will argue: (1) that Colossians emphasizes the lordship of Christ in creation, an emphasis similar to *4QInstruction's* on the lordship of God in creation, (2) that the placement of the "hymn" at the start of the epistle mirrors the compositional strategy of the sage wherein God's sovereignty over creation frames the discussion to follow, and (3) that *4QInstruction* provides evidence of a cognitive milieu from which the author of Colossians could draw to refute the opponents' teaching. As I discussed in the last chapter, the opponents' teaching gave undue authority and weight to the powers and the στοιχεῖα (Col 2:8). As astrological phenomenon with malevolent powers behind them, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου represented cosmological forces which threatened the recipients. The Colossian author utilized the "hymn" to placate any fears the recipients may have had regarding the powers and the στοιχεῖα by emphasizing Christ as Creator of the heavenly objects and spiritual beings. This theological strategy has antecedents in *4QInstruction*. A final parallel is that *4QInstruction* connects growth in knowledge of God and of the

162. *DJD* 34, 8, 17, 83.

163. Astutely, Elgvin, "Revelation," 448 notes that "the two eschatological discourses describe and praise God's creation of the universe with the heavenly objects (4Q416 1 7-14, cf. 4Q418 69 9-15). . . . this Lordship of God over the universe functions as a reason for His approaching judgement of evil."

“mystery” (*rāz nihyeh*) with knowledge of creation, a connection also drawn by the Colossian author. Overall, the epistle’s shape and content serve cosmological, moral, and teleological purposes in the author’s pastoral strategy to educate the recipients and thereby direct their behavior.

While 4Q416 1 1-9 is fragmentary, Rey notes that lines 1-9 are unified by a “semantic field of celestial elements” that evoke the creation account of Gen 1:1-2:4a. His analysis demonstrates the parallels:¹⁶⁴

4Q416 1 Gen 1:1-2:4a.

כוכבי אור	- “stars of light” (l. 1)	Gen 1:16
צבא השמים	- “the army of the skies” (ll. 4, 7)	Gen 2:1
מאורות	- “the luminaries” (l. 7)	Gen 1:16
אתות מן עדיהמה	- “signs of their festivals” (l. 8)	Gen 1:14

These terms and phrases evoke the image of God as Creator of the heavenly host while lines 10-18 present God as the eschatological Judge of wickedness, including “every spirit of flesh” (l. 12). In line 3, “season by season” recalls the continuous cycle of the seasons and years. God established these cosmological cycles “in all periods of eternity (בכל קצי עד) (l. 14). For He is a God of fidelity. And from *of old*, (*from*) years of[eternity]”¹⁶⁵ In line 4, the phrase **צבא השמים** should be understood as “heavenly (angelic or stellar) host,” a meaning attested by “host of Heaven” (**וצבא השמים**) in line 7 where the sage clearly brings in view God’s creation of the astrological elements including angelic powers.¹⁶⁶ The text reads, “*But* the host of the Heavens He has established on[*vacat* (?) and luminaries].” The sage, having established God’s providential creation of the cosmos, then turns in lines 7-14 to discuss his coming judgment upon it. As Collins notes:

the cosmic aspect is indicated by phrases such as ‘. . . the host of the heavens he has established . . . and luminaries for their portents and signs for their festivals.’ The eschatological element is clearly preserved: ‘In heaven he shall pronounce judgment upon the work of wickedness, but all the sons of truth will be accepted with favor . . . and all iniquity shall come to an end until the epoch of destruction will be finished.’¹⁶⁷

164. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 234.

165. Cf., 4Q416 3 3; 4Q417 1 i 7; 4Q418 69 ii 14; 4Q418 81 13.

166. *DJD* 34, 84.

167. Collins, “Wisdom,” 274–75.

The sage's rhetorical strategy and theological move in 4Q416 1 i 1-9 is noteworthy. By opening with God as Creator over the angelic host and the luminary objects, the sage places all creation, including the angelic powers, under the sovereign reign of God.¹⁶⁸

A similar rhetorical and theological move occurs in 4Q417 1 i. The sage's repeated calls to study the *rāz nihyeh* in lines 1-7 are predicated upon the lordship of God in creation. The sage points to the fact that:

8. the God of knowledge is the *foundation* of truth And *by/on* the mystery that is to come 9. He has *laid out* its (=truth's) *foundation*, And its deeds [He has prepared with all wis]dom And with all[c]unning has He fashioned it, And the domain of its deeds (creatures) . . .
13. . . . Toge]ther with His marvelous mysteries and the *mighty acts He has wrought*. (4Q417 1 i 8-9, 13b).

The first item to note is the phrase “the God of knowledge” (אל הדעות).¹⁶⁹ As Goff details, this phrase is used in the DSS “to praise God's role in creation,” and is used here to correlate God's wisdom with creation.¹⁷⁰ Of note, the sage places the *rāz nihyeh* with God in creation. Rightly, Collins arrives at the startling conclusion that 4Q417 1 i 8-9 “appears to associate the *rāz nihyeh* with creation.”¹⁷¹ That is to say, God created the cosmos “*by/on*” (ב) the “mystery.” At a minimum, creation is under divine control with the “mystery that is to come” as its basis. But the sage appears to indicate that the *rāz nihyeh* was an instrument used by God in creation. As Goff notes, “the mystery that is to be was the means by which God endowed the world with an overarching framework,” that is to say “God used this mystery to create the world.”¹⁷²

The parallel to Colossians is that Christ, the “mystery,” is the agent of creation. The author identifies Christ as the “mystery of God” (Col 2:2); moreover, as “the mystery of God,” all creation was created by him (Col 1:15-16). The Colossian author,

168. Rightly, Macaskill, “Creation,” 230 emphasizes that the “cosmological section serves a paraenetic function.” To Macaskill, cosmology is paradigmatic, the orderly pattern of the heavenly bodies is to be emulated by the addressee. However, I think Macaskill minimizes the sage's emphases on God's sovereignty as a warrant.

169. In 1 Sam 2:3, see *DJD* 34, 158. Cf. 4Q418 55 5.

170. E.g., 1QS 3:15; 1QH 20:10-11; 4Q504 4 4; 4Q299 35 1; 4Q299 73, noted by Goff, “Mystery,” 172 n. 37.

171. Collins, “Wisdom,” 273.

172. Goff, “Mystery,” 170.

then, reflects a remarkably similar thought to that expressed by the sage of *4QInstruction*. God is not only sovereign over his creation but God's "mystery" is associated with God as the means by which creation occurred. In this light, it seems likely that the author of Colossians, as he reflects on the Christ-event, concludes that Christ is the *rāz nihyeh*, the creating and sustaining order (Col 1:17) to the κόσμος.

In any case, the sage employs a similar strategy in 4Q417 1 i as in 4Q416 1. The sage asserts God's creative agency as he discusses eschatological judgment upon the "fleshly spirit," a fate contrasted with the forgiven elect whose names are written in the "book of memorial" and who, as a "spiritual people," possess the revealed mysteries of heaven (ll. 13-18). In this way, the sage precedes instructions (regarding the existence of the elect), exhortations (to grow in understanding of the mystery), and admonitions (to walk rightly) with a description of God as Creator. The sage's purpose in emphasizing creation is captured well by Collins:

The ethics advocated in this Qumran wisdom text are not merely *ad hoc*. They are grounded in a comprehensive view of the purpose of creation, summed up in the enigmatic phrase *rāz nihyeh*, which is variously translated as 'the mystery that is to come,' 'the mystery of existence,' or here, 'the mystery that is to be.'¹⁷³

With discussion of God as Creator at the outset and eschatological judgment kept in view, the sage emphasizes God's sovereignty and reminds the addressee of God's ultimate victory. By starting with God as Creator, the sage frames discussion of the addressee's non-fleshly existence, possession of revealed knowledge (the *rāz nihyeh*), and present forgiveness as arising out of God's sovereignty. Recognition of the lordship of God, then, undergirds ethical admonitions by placing them within the sweeping narrative of salvation history.¹⁷⁴

173. Collins, "Wisdom," 272–73.

174. Thus, I agree with Macaskill, "Creation," 227–32 that discussion of creation and eschatology frames the composition. However, I disagree with Macaskill that the sage discusses creation so that the addressee will emulate the heavenly bodies, live rightly, and be delivered from judgment. Macaskill's reading places too much emphasis on fidelity to avoid judgment and fails to keep in view the addressee's elect existence, i.e. separated from the "flesh," recipient of the *rāz nihyeh*, forgiven, and assured of a lot with the angels. Judgment scenes function to heighten the sage's emphasis on God's mercy in election and encourage the elect to live accordingly instead of serving as a threat to the addressee for failures in fidelity.

This pattern of ideas and rhetorical strategy in *4QInstruction* illuminates the epistolary strategy and thought I identified in Colossians. The author opens the epistle by discussing Christ as Creator and Lord over all creation (Col 1:15-16). Thus the “powers” and τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου are firmly under divine control, especially since τὰ πάντα have been reconciled through him (Col 1:20). Further, by identifying Christ as God’s “mystery,” the author indicates that the “mystery” is the means of creation. And, like the *rāz nihyeh*, Christ is the “mystery of God” revealed to the elect, the “mystery” which the recipients, like the addressee, must grasp and grow in understanding, insight, and knowledge of to become perfect and walk rightly (Col 2:2-3; cf. 1:9-10; 2:6).

Revelation of and growth in understanding of the “mystery” includes the fact that Christ is κύριος over creation, redeemer of sins, and conqueror of the “flesh.” Sappington, then, appears to be correct that “the hymn was cited in order to lay the foundation for the exposition of 2:2-3.”¹⁷⁵ In Col 2:2-3, the author writes:

I want their hearts to be encouraged and united in love, so that they may have all the riches of assured understanding (σύνεσις) and have the knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of God's mystery (μυστήριον), that is, Christ himself, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom (σοφία) and knowledge. (Col 2:2-3)

Growth in knowledge of Christ, the “mystery of God,” necessarily includes knowledge of creation because all wisdom is encapsulated “in Christ.” Thus, a role of the “hymn” (1:15-20) is to develop knowledge of Christ including his lordship over creation. Knowledge of God’s creation, then, is part-and-parcel with understanding and growing in knowledge of God’s revealed “mystery” (2:2-3) just as it is in *4QInstruction*.

This knowledge of Christ as κύριος serves many functions. Cosmologically, it clarifies Christ’s sovereignty over creation thus removing any fears of the angelic powers. Morally, it serves as a warrant for ethical exhortations, including the household code, because the elect realize their behavior will be held to account by their

175. Sappington, *Revelation*, 176.

“heavenly” κύριος (Col 3:18-4:1). And teleologically, it provides the image of Christ as Creator, the image into which the elect are being transformed (Col 3:10).

6.3.4 Emphasis on a Realized Eschatology

In addition to the elect possessing the לֵךְ נִהְיֶה and a non-fleshly existence, *4QInstruction* further exhibits a realized eschatology. The elect know that they are already forgiven from their iniquities and that they share in the “lot” of the angels who walk in light. While future salvation and judgment remain in view, they exist on the distant horizon. Knowledge of present salvation takes center stage in the composition.¹⁷⁶ These ideas in *4QInstruction* provide antecedents for the view of the new existence in Colossians.

6.3.4.1 Present Forgiveness and “Heavenly Books”

In *4QInstruction*, the elect possess revelation, heavenly knowledge, that they will be spared God’s judgment because He has forgiven them of sins (4Q417 2 i 15). Having already discussed the composition’s ethical dualism and pronouncement of judgment upon the ungodly, I will now focus on the theme of present forgiveness by God of his elect. I will begin with and center the discussion on 4Q417 1 i in which the sage discusses revelation of present forgiveness as recorded in a heavenly book, a motif strikingly similar to Colossians 2:13-14.

4Q417 1 i 13-18, arguably the “most famous section” of *4QInstruction*, has received considerable scholarly attention.¹⁷⁷ The text is fraught with a number of exegetical challenges.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the pericope’s theme of supernatural revelation

176. Noting 4Q417 1 i 11-13, Elgvin, “Revelation,” 457.

177. For exhaustive bibliography, see Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 103–4 nn. 2–3.

178. E.g., (1) meaning of אֲנוּשׁ as “Enosh,” “humanity,” or “Adam; (2) meaning of “children of שׁוֹת”; (3) possibility of an anthropological distinction between a “spiritual people” and a “fleshly spirit”; and (4) whether one or two heavenly books are in view. For overview of

of present forgiveness written in a heavenly book is clear enough to serve as a valuable antecedent to the Colossian author's reflection on the existence of the elect. To capture this coherent thought, I include it here:

13. . . . But thou,
 14. O understanding one, study (*inherit?*) thy reward, remembering *the re[quital, for] it comes*. Engraved is the/thy ordinance/destiny, And ordained is all the punishment.
 15. For engraved *is* that which is ordained by God *against* all the *ini[quities]* of the children of שׁוֹת, *And* written in His presence *is* a book of memorial
 16. of those who keep His word. And that *is* the appearance/*vision of the meditation* on a book of memorial. And *He* /שׁוֹת(?) *gave* it as an inheritance to *Man/Enosh Together with* a spiritual people. F[o]r
 17. according to the pattern of the Holy Ones *is his* (man's) fashioning. *But* no more *has* meditation been given to a (?) fleshly spirit, For *it* (sc. flesh) knew/knowns not the difference between [goo]d and evil according to the judgement of *its* [sp]irit.
 (4Q417 1 i 13-18)

Firstly, the addressee is referred to as “O understanding one” (ll. 13, 18; cf. “O sage child,” l. 25). As discussed earlier, these titles recall the addressee's status as one of the elect. He is like the “spiritual people” (l. 16), separated from the “fleshly spirit” (4Q418 81 1-2), has a lot with the angels, and is the recipient of the *rāz nihyeh* (God's heavenly mystery).¹⁷⁹ This status contrasts with the ungodly (e.g., “children of שׁוֹת,” l. 15; cf. “fleshly spirit,” l. 17). Secondly, the sage instructs the addressee on his position as one of the forgiven elect by discussing the contents of the heavenly book, twice referring to eschatological fates “engraved” (חֲקֵק, ll. 14-15) and “written” (כָּתַב, l. 15) in a “book of memorial” (סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן), “a heavenly book that can be compared to those of *I Enoch* and *Jubilees* (e.g., *I En.* 90:20; 93:2; *Jub.* 6:31; 15:25).¹⁸⁰

The sage's reference to a “book of memorial” in line 16 is very close to the wording and eschatological context of Malachi 3:16 which also speaks of a “book of memorial.”¹⁸¹ Malachi also refers to two groups, the righteous and the wicked (3:18), and speaks of eschatological judgement when God will “spare” his children (3:17) and

interpretations, see Goff, “Recent,” 383–86.

179. Goff, *Worldly*, 122.

180. On the tradition-history of “heavenly books” see Lange, *Weisheit*, 69–79. Also, Collins, *Hellenistic*, 123.

181. Noted by Collins, *Hellenistic*, 123. See also *DJD* 34, 163. Recently, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 295.

destroy the “evildoers” (3:18). *4QInstruction* reflects this eschatological scene and utilizes its language. While the text may leave open the possibility that the ungodly may find knowledge, righteousness, and salvation,¹⁸² it is abundantly clear that ultimately the ungodly will be destroyed.¹⁸³

4QInstruction, however, moves beyond the Malachi text pointing to additional, specific, and revealed eschatological information.¹⁸⁴ The next line (l. 16) indicates that something (a vision, the “book of memorial,” or a vision of the book) was given to אֱנוֹשׁ and a “spiritual people.”¹⁸⁵ Enigmatic and difficult to interpret, it is clear enough that these lines indicate that supernatural revelation has been given to a “spiritual people,” the elect.¹⁸⁶ God has revealed the “secrets” to the elect; therefore, the elect already possess divine wisdom revealed only to them (cf. 4Q417 1 i 11-12).¹⁸⁷ Moreover, this revelation includes insight for the elect of their future eternal life after death, a fate contrasted to the punishment ordained for the “fleshly spirit.” Study of the *rāz nihyeh* provides insight into salvation, who will inherit “eternal glory” (כְּבוֹד עוֹלָם) and who will inherit corruption (4Q417 2 i 11).¹⁸⁸ For the sage and addressee, supernatural revelation indicates that their names have been written in the heavenly book (ll. 15-16). Thus, the sage shapes the addressee’s understanding of his forgiven status before God. The author, addressee and their community view themselves as the true Israel who “already enjoy God’s pardon and favor.”¹⁸⁹

182. According to Elgvin, “Revelation,” 444. See also, Goff, *Discerning*, 33.

183. Cf. Psa 37; Prov 2:21-22; Isa 40-66 notes Elgvin, “Revelation,” 447.

184. Tigchelaar, “Spiritual,” 114–16.

185. That the passage 4Q417 1 i 14-18 portrays “the Book of Hagi as a heavenly book which has been revealed only to the spiritual community (עַם רוּחַ),” see Elgvin, “Revelation,” 454. Also, Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 54. The term אֱנוֹשׁ, as Collins, “Likeness,” 610–12 notes, has three interpretations: (a) “human beings” as in the Hodayot, (b) “name of the son of Seth, grandson of Adam” argued first by Lange, *Weisheit*, 87–88, and (c) Adam, the first human. Collins’ conclusion of (c) is developed further by Goff, *Worldly*, 122. But see, Rey, *4QInstruction*, 297 who chooses (a). Regardless, אֱנוֹשׁ is associated with the “spiritual people.”

186. Goff, *Discerning*, 32–34.

187. That נִסְתָּרוֹת refers to “the hidden secrets of God which he reveals to the elect community,” see Elgvin, “Judgment,” 137.

188. Elgvin, “Judgment,” 144.

189. Rightly, Elgvin, “Judgment,” 129 noting also 4Q418 81 10.

The author of Colossians utilizes strikingly similar language of a heavenly book to describe the forgiven status of the elect (Col 2:14). As I discussed in chapter five, the author refers to a χειρόγραφον, a heavenly book from which the sins of believers have been erased. He utilizes this image in an eschatological context for a similar purpose, namely discussing revelation of the recipients' existence as God's forgiven elect. In the same verse, the author of Colossians also refers to δόγματα ("regulations/commandments," 2:14; cf. δογματίζω, 2:20) in the χειρόγραφον which stood against them. As I noted, δόγμα, in the NT, can refer to a Jewish interpretation of the Law or a command related to the Law; therefore, the Mosaic law may be in view. If, as it appears likely, the opponents were themselves Jewish and/or Jewish-Christians, then the Jewish-Christian author's inclusive condemnation that the δόγματα stood against ἡμῖν ("us") refers to failures in keeping the commandments of the Law.

4QInstruction may provide an antecedent to the Colossian author's association of a "heavenly book" with engraved commandments understood as the Law. In the course of explaining that the iniquities of the elect are not recorded, but instead that their names are recorded in a "book of a memorial," the sage writes, "Engraved is the/thy ordinance/destiny (חֲרֻתְּ חֻקֶּכָּה)" (4Q417 1 i 14).¹⁹⁰ As the editors note, חֲרֻת ("engraved") is a biblical *hapax* in Exod 32:16,¹⁹¹ a verse referring to the writings of God which God "engraved" (חֲרַת) on the tablets given to Moses. Further, as A. Lange points out, the second term, חֻקֶּכָּה, is used in Essene and non-Essene texts to designate the Law.¹⁹² Taken together, then, "Engraved is the/thy ordinance/destiny (חֲרֻתְּ חֻקֶּכָּה)" may be a reference to the commandments of God engraved at Sinai.¹⁹³ This nomistic understanding of commandments lends weight to interpreting the phrase τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν ("commandments which stood against us") in Colossians 2:14 as failures to keep the Law given at Sinai. Such an interpretation

190. *DJD* 34, 151.

191. *DJD* 34, 162.

192. Lange, *Weisheit*, 82.

193. Lange, *Weisheit*, 82.

further points to the Jewish background of both author and opponents and the polemical nature of the author's rhetoric.

In sum, *4QInstruction* utilizes the image and motif of a heavenly book to describe the existence of the elect and the eschatological fate of every person. Known through revelation and grasped through further study, knowledge of present forgiveness shapes the addressee's understanding of his existence. Moreover, proper understanding of the mystery of existence, including God's merciful forgiveness, provides the context for ethical exhortations.¹⁹⁴ Unlike the fifteen Jewish apocalypses which depict salvation as *not* present for the elect, Colossians, like *4QInstruction*, indicates that salvation *is* present (Col 2:13-14). In this way, revelation of the contents of a "heavenly book" in both *4QInstruction* and Colossians functions to shape understanding of the new existence of the elect. As a "spiritual people" forgiven of sins, they are to walk in a manner befitting this existence.

6.3.4.2 Revelation of Sharing in the Lot of the "Holy Ones" in the Light

In the last section amidst discussion of present forgiveness, I discussed the privileged status of the addressee and the (righteous) community, namely an "inheritance" (4Q418 81 3, 9, 15) which includes a lot with the angels. Now, I turn to examine 4Q418 69 ii 12-14 which confirms the view that the elect share in the inheritance ("lot") of the angels who walk in light. This eschatological blessing known in the present, and to some extent presently experienced, signals the cognitive environment of the author and strengthens my conclusion regarding the obscure phrase in Col 1:12, namely that elect believers in Christ have been given a share in the lot of the angels and the already deceased elect.

In 4Q418 69 ii 10-14, the sage exhorts the elect, called "the truly chosen ones" (בְּחִירֵי אֱמֶת, l. 10), not to grow tired in seeking "understanding" (בִּינָה, l. 10) and

194. Rightly, Collins, "Mysteries," 291, 305 connects understanding the *rāz nihyeh* (4Q416 2 iii 9-10; cf. 4Q417 13-18) with behavior and discerning between good and evil (4Q417 1 i 6-8).

pursuing “knowledge” (דעת, l. 11) but to remain vigilant like the “Sons of Heaven” (בני שמים) whose lot (נחלה) is eternal life” (ll. 12-13). This exhortation to the elect in lines 10-15 follows the address to the “foolish-minded” (אויילי לב, l. 4), also called the “children of iniquity” (בני עולה, l. 8), who are told of their impending destruction at coming judgment (ll. 4-9).¹⁹⁵ Amidst this eschatological backdrop, the sage exhorts the elect to persevere in their pursuit of understanding and imitate the “Sons of Heaven” who do not grow “weary of doing the works of Truth” (l. 13). The “Sons of Heaven” are said to have an eternal “inheritance” (נחלה, l. 13) and “walk in light (אור) everlasting” (l. 14), and the elect are described as sharing in this eschatological reward. The majority of scholars interpret “Sons of Heaven” as angels.¹⁹⁶ For example, Collins writes: “. . . the passage clearly supposes that the human righteous share the lot of the angels, and may hope for eternal life in the council of the divine ones. . . . [there is] a close association between the earthly righteous and the angelic host.”¹⁹⁷ However, “Sons of Heaven” in this passage may also include the deceased elect.¹⁹⁸ In sum, the angels, elsewhere called “Holy Ones” (קדושים, 4Q418 81 1,11,12), and possibly the already deceased elect, have a “lot” and walk in “light” (אור). The elect share in this while the ungodly face judgment.¹⁹⁹

4Q418 69 ii aids in interpreting Colossians 1:12 where the author writes that the elect should be thankful to God the Father who has made them “fit to share in the portion of the lot of the holy ones in the light” (τῷ ικανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί.). Firstly, the sage’s exhortations to “the truly

195. That 4Q418 69 4-15 depicts judgment, and like apocalyptic literature, divides history into ages or periods, see Collins, “Wisdom,” 275.

196. In agreement, *DJD* 34, 290 noting that נחלה is here to be translated “lot” or “inheritance” and indicates that the angels “inherit the one or the other.” See also Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 55. On the similar thought in 4Q418 55 10-11, see Wold, *Women*, 158. Summarizing the debate, Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 224 n. 28 concludes angels are in view.

197. Collins, “Mysteries,” 296.

198. That “the transformed righteous and angels” are in view, see Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, 119–20. While Rey argues “Sons of Heaven” in 4Q418 69 ii 12-13 is a human category, he notes it refers to angels in 4Q416 1 12 and wisely counsels “la prudence de laisser la question ouverte,” see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 234–42.

199. That the angels have an inheritance of eternal life (4Q418 69 ii 12-13) and the addressee shares in this lot (4Q418 81 4-5), see Goff, *Worldly*, 68.

chosen ones” centers on the pursuit of understanding and knowledge (4Q418 69 ii 10-11), motifs central to Colossians (cf. Col 1:9, 10; 2:2, 3; 3:10). Secondly, the sage explicitly connects the fate of the elect with the fate of “the Sons of Heaven” whose “lot is eternal life” (4Q418 69 ii 13). In this way, the sage indicates that the elect will share in the “lot” of “the Sons of Heaven” (4Q418 81 4-5), a fate contrasted with that of the ungodly (4Q418 69 ii; cf. 4Q416 1).²⁰⁰ Similarly, the Colossian author indicates that believers have been “made to fit” (ἱκανόω) in the “lot” (κληρος) of the ἅγιοι (“holy ones”) due to their election (ἐκλεκτός, Col 3:12, cf. 1:12), an eternal inheritance (Col 3:4, 24) contrasted with the ungodly (Col 3:6, 25). Thirdly, “the Sons of Heaven” who walk in “light” (אור, l. 14) refers to angels and possibly also to the dead elect. The ambiguity in interpreting “the Sons of Heaven” is reflected, I argue, in ἅγιοι (“holy ones”) in Col 1:12. As I discussed in chapter five, if ἅγιοι reflects the backdrop of 4Q418 69 ii, then Colossians likewise indicates that the elect share in the inheritance of the angels and the already dead elect. The highly unique phrase (“the holy ones in the light”) in Colossians 1:12, then, provides another clue regarding the author’s cognitive environment, a cultural milieu resembling that of *4QInstruction*.

Lastly, both texts connect knowledge of a present inheritance with the angels to be fully realized in the afterlife with steadfastness in pursuit of wisdom. As the editors note:

the assumption seems to be that the righteous can even now participate to some degree in the eternal contemplation and happiness of the angels who dwell in the heavenly court. If they remain faithful in pursuing wisdom and righteousness, they will eventually share in the fullness of the angelic life.²⁰¹

This is seen further in 4Q416 2 iii. After exhorting the addressee to diligently study the “mystery that is to come” in order to walk in righteousness (ll. 9-10), the sage asserts: “with *the* nobles (נדיב) has He made thee to be seated, And over a glorious *heritage* has he placed thee in authority (בנחלת כבוד המשילכה)” (ll. 11-12).²⁰² In context, the

200. Correctly, Elgvin, “Judgment,” 162. See also, Goff, “Pedagogical,” 60–61.

201. *DJD* 34, 14.

202. Cf. “in eternal glory and everlasting peace” (בכבוד עולם ושלווה עד), 4Q418 126 ii 8.

sage's admonitions for study and ethical behavior co-mingle with a "weaker" realized eschatology in which the addressee has been seated with the 'angels' and given "a glorious inheritance" to be gained at death.²⁰³ As in 4Q418 69 ii 10-15, the sage exhorts the addressee not to grow weary in emulating the angels in their continual pursuit of understanding. Thus, exhortations to growth in understanding, insight, and knowledge, are coupled with revelation of a present "lot" which is understood in the context of approaching judgment.²⁰⁴

This matches the pattern of ideas in Colossians. Knowledge of having been "fit" into a "lot" with the "holy ones" includes the present privilege of access to the heavenly mysteries and the promise of a glorious future inheritance, but it is also coupled with exhortations to steadfastness in pursuit of knowledge and ethical behavior. Although transferred into Christ's kingdom and already "fitted" into the "lot" with the angels, believers will be presented holy and blameless to God (Col 1:22) "if" (ἐἰ) they "continue securely established and steadfast in the faith" (Col 1:23). Thus, the realized eschatology and reality of a "lot" with the "holy ones" in Colossians awaits full realization at death (or Christ's return) and is paired with exhortations to remain steadfast in study of the mystery in Christ (1:26-28; 2:2-3; cf. 3:16) in order to walk holy (Col 1:10; cf. 2:6) *so that* believers may be found blameless (Col 1:22) and gain the "reward of inheritance" (ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις τῆς κληρονομίας, Col 3:24).

There is one final point of correspondence between the two texts. Scholars are divided on the extent to which *4QInstruction* indicates present participation with the angels or refers to a promise of future participation with them. For example, Stuckenbruck argues the phrase "inheritor of the land" (נוחלי ארץ, 4Q418 81 14) may bring in view angelic privileges, that is to say "the sage and perhaps even the

203. Rightly, Wold, *Women*, 156 concludes that "nobles" (נדיב, l. 11) refers to angels and eternal rewards, thus the sage brings in view "a reality not yet fully realized." In agreement, Goff, *Discerning*, 43–44 recognizes that 4Q416 2 iii 11-12 represents "a 'realized eschatology,' but in a weaker sense . . . fellowship with the angels is not fully realized until death."

204. Rightly, Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 224 notes that knowledge of a future "lot" fosters learning and "righteous conduct."

community to which he belonged already anticipate this position in the present.”²⁰⁵ Harrington likewise concludes that “the righteous already participate in the glorious existence of the angels” (4Q418 81 4-5; cf. 4Q418 69 12-13).²⁰⁶ Collins, on the other hand, interprets 4Q418 81 3-5 as “anticipating future glory, rather than enjoying it in the present.”²⁰⁷ But, earlier Collins noted, “there is an element of realized eschatology in the Sapiential Work, insofar as the elect are granted in this life to share the knowledge of the angels and gaze on the mystery that is hidden from most of humanity.”²⁰⁸ Scholarly disagreement reflects the ambiguity in *4QInstruction* regarding the extent to which eschatological rewards are realized in the present.

Similarly, Colossians exhibits ambiguity with respect to the extent to which believers experience eschatological rewards in the present. As I discussed in chapter five (section 5.4.6.2), the author utilizes a string of aorist verbal forms to press home completed aspects of salvation, namely assurance of a “lot” with the “holy ones” and a transfer out of the “authority of darkness” into the “kingdom” of Christ (Col 1:12-13). As in *4QInstruction*, this “lot” includes present privileges, not the least of which is access to the divine mysteries, but also includes a future inheritance (Col 3:24). Transferred out of one sphere and into another, believers are able to penetrate the “heavens.” The elect “in Christ” have been raised up with Christ who is seated in heaven (Col 3:1). The elect, exhorted to “think on the things above” (τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, Col 3:2), may access the divine mysteries, and their “life” (ζωή) is “hidden” (κρύπτω) with Christ “in God” (ἐν τῷ θεῷ, Col 3:3). Thus, the text presents the elect as existing in an intermediate plane different from that experienced by the ungodly. Colossians,

205. If “heirs of the earth” in 4Q418 81 14 designates “the sage and a (righteous) human community,” then “this inheritance may be understood against the wider context of angelology; their privilege is regarded as a kind of *participation* in the privileges accorded to angels,” see Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction,” 248–49. See further, Goff, *Worldly*, 69 that “inheritors of the land” in 4Q418 81 14 “may also refer to the elect status of the addressee (cf. *1 En.* 5:7; Matt 5:5; *m. Sanh.* 10:1; *m. Qidd.* 1:10).”

206. Harrington, “Approaches,” 272.

207. See Collins, “Eschatologizing,” 57. On hope for an afterlife in 4Q416 2 iii 6-8; 4Q417 2 i 11; 4Q418 126 ii 7-8, see Collins, “Mysteries,” 294.

208. Seven years earlier, see Collins, “Wisdom,” 275.

like *4QInstruction*, blurs the distinction between the cosmological spheres.²⁰⁹ The new existence leaves open the question as to the extent to which the elect presently experience the heavenly realm “in Christ” (cf. Col 2:12-13; 3:1-4).

6.4 Enabler to Live Rightly: Growing in Knowledge by Studying the “Mystery”

As discussed above, the sage exhorts the addressee to “gaze” (נבט) upon (4Q417 1 i 2, 18; 4Q417 2 i 10), “study” (שׂרר, 4Q416 2 iii 9, 14), and “meditate” (הגה, 4Q417 1 i 6) on the *rāz nihyeh*. That is to say the addressee is called upon to engage in “intellectual” or “learning” activities.²¹⁰ These learning activities bring in view that angelic messengers, visionary ascents, and revelatory dreams serve no purpose and find no place in *4QInstruction*. The reason lies with the fact that heavenly wisdom has been revealed to the elect on the earth. The sage points out that God “uncovered thy ear *about* the mystery that is to come” (4Q418 184 2). For example, the sage exhorts:

13. *study* (?) knowledge. Bring thy shoulder under all instruction, And with all[] . . . *refine* (?) thy heart, And with abundance of understanding
14. (sc. refine) thy thoughts. Study the mystery that is to come, And understand all the ways of Truth, And all the roots of iniquity
(4Q416 2 iii 13-14; cf. 4Q417 1 i 6-8).

As I mentioned above, this “mystery” includes cosmological knowledge of creation: “8. For the God of knowledge is the *foundation* of truth And *by/on* the mystery that is to come 9. He has *laid out* its (=truth’s) *foundation*, And its deeds [He has *prepared with all wis]dom* . . .” (4Q417 1 i 8-9; cf. 4Q416 2 iii 9). Revelation of heavenly mysteries includes knowledge of all history (4Q417 1 i 3), the eschatological destiny of

209. Thus, Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction,” 249 writes, “. . . when it comes to the position of the sage, the ‘earthly’ and ‘heavenly’ spheres are not separated.” See also, Samuel L. Adams, *Act*, 273 that in contrast to the HB *4QInstruction* represents a “synthesis of sapiential and apocalyptic concepts” and “access to the heavenly realm.”

210. Noted by Tigchelaar, “Addressees,” 68 that “the vocative מבין ואתה and its variants are employed mainly in a specific kind of context.” The sage “calls upon the *Mebin* to meditate on the רז נהיה” in “what might be called ‘intellectual’ or ‘learning’ activities.”

humanity (4Q417 1 i 6-7; cf. 4Q417 2 i 10-11; 4Q418 190 2-3), and knowledge of God (4Q417 1 i 13).²¹¹ The *rāz nihyeh*, then, pertains to everything within God's cosmos: the nature and destiny of humanity (4Q418 77 2, 4) and the ability to discern between good and evil (4Q417 1 i 8). In light of its scope and impact upon the addressee, the *rāz nihyeh* is to be a continual focus of study.²¹² 4Q417 1 i 6-8 exemplifies this thought:

6. [And by day and by night meditate upon the mystery that is to] come, And study (*it*) continually. And then thou shalt know truth and iniquity, wisdom
 7. [and foolish]ness *thou shalt* [*recognize*], *every* ac[t]in all their ways, Together with *their* punishments(s) *in* all ages everlasting, And the punishment
 8. of eternity. . . .
 (cf. 4Q416 2 iii 14)

In sum, the *rāz nihyeh* contains all wisdom, and the elect are to pursue understanding eagerly and vigilantly like the angels with whom the elect share an inheritance (4Q418 69 ii 10-13; cf. 4Q 418 81 4-6, 17). The author of Colossians encapsulates a similar thought writing that Christ is the “knowledge of the mystery of God,” and in him “are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge” (cf. Col 2:3). It is feasible that the Colossian author draws from a similar cognitive milieu, reflects upon becoming “complete” (τέλειος, Col 1:28), and concludes that the *rāz nihyeh* is to be found in Christ.

The sage instructs that growth in understanding of the *rāz nihyeh* enables right behavior. As I discussed above, the elect are a “spiritual people” having been separated from the “flesh.” In this, Elgvin rightly notes that being separated from “spirit of flesh” is the basis for the elect's ability to walk rightly.²¹³ Separated from the “flesh” and in possession of the *rāz nihyeh*, the elect have both heavenly revelation and the ability with which to grasp it. However, right behavior is not assured. The sage consistently exhorts right behavior because evil remains on the earth and the elect must choose to separate themselves from it. 4Q418 81 1-2 exemplifies this tension. While the

211. Connecting study of the *rāz nihyeh* to growth in “la connaissance de Dieu,” see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 285.

212. Collins, “Wisdom,” 273.

213. Elgvin, “Mystery,” 119.

addressee has been separated “from every fleshly spirit,” he must still separate himself “from every thing that He [God] hates, And . . . hold thyself aloof from all that *His* [God’s] soul abominates.”²¹⁴ To that end, the sage exhorts growth in understanding of the “mystery” because it enables the addressee to “walk” rightly.²¹⁵ In 4Q416 2 iii 9-10, the sage calls upon the addressee to study the רז because “then thou shalt know what is *allotted to it*, And in righteousness shalt thou walk (הלך).”²¹⁶ Studying the “mystery” enables discernment between good and evil (4Q416 2 iii 13-14). 4Q417 1 i 10-12 explains that the result of studying and comprehending God’s revealed heavenly mysteries is the ability to walk rightly:

10. . . . He [ex]pounded for their un[der]standing every d[ee]d/cr[eatu]re So that *man* could walk
 11. in the [fashion (inclination)] of *their/his* understanding, And He will/did expound for m[an . . .] And in abundance/property/purity of understanding were made kn[own the se]crets of
 12. his (?man’s) plan, together with how he should walk[p]erfec[t in all] his [ac]tions. These things investigate/seek early and continually, And gain understanding [about a]ll.

The sage drives this point home later in the column writing, “O understanding child, gaze on the mystery that is to come, And know 19. [the *paths* of] everyone that lives And the manner of his walking that is appointed for [*his*] deed[s]” (4Q417 1 i 18-19). While the “*the foolish of heart have not pursued*] knowledge, And have not sought after under[standing,” the way, or behavior, of the elect, explains the sage, is founded on truth and understanding (4Q418 55 6). In short, growth in understanding of the “mystery” enables the addressee to avoid evil and walk “perfect” (תמים 4Q417 1 i 12) in all his actions.²¹⁷

Regarding this pattern of ideas in *4QInstruction*, Elgvin footnotes Colossians 3:1-17! He writes, “the analogy to a central paraenetic theme in the New Testament

214. On this “complex reality,” see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 316.

215. Rightly, Elgvin, “Mystery,” 134 concludes, “*4QInstruction* takes *raz nihyeh* as a starting point for instructing the enlightened how he shall ‘walk’ (התהלך) in his everyday life.

216. See also Collins, “Mysteries,” 291 who notes the connection between behavior, understanding of the mystery (4Q416 2 iii 9-10) and discernment (4Q417 1 i 6-8).

217. In agreement with Rey, *4QInstruction*, 286, 304 that “la méditation de ce mystère doit permettre à l’homme de marcher dans la perfection.”

epistles is not farfetched; ‘you are called and saved/raised up with Christ, walk therefore according to your calling’.”²¹⁸ In the last chapter, I drew attention to a similar pattern of ideas. The author of Colossians exhorts the elect who have had their iniquities erased from a heavenly book (2:13-14; cf. 1:22), who have an inheritance with the “holy ones” (1:12), who have been separated from the “flesh” (2:11), and who possess the “mystery of God” (1:26; 2:2-3) to shed the evil practices associated with the “earth” (3:5-9) by engaging in “learning” activities, placing particular importance on growth in understanding (“wisdom,” 3:16; 4:5; cf. 1:28; 2:3, 23). Moreover, the community’s songs, hymns, and psalms (3:16) are not only meant to be in thanksgiving to Christ but also are to be instructional. Teaching is for the purpose of growth in “wisdom” (σοφία), understanding (σύνεσις), and knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of Christ, the μυστήριον of God, in whom are found all the treasures of God’s wisdom. The epistle’s emphasis on study and instruction is also seen through its three uses of the verb διδάσκω (“teaching”), a concentration greater than any other NT book outside of the Gospels and Acts. Learning activities lay at the core of the author’s apostolic ministry. It is by teaching and instruction “in all wisdom” concerning Christ the “mystery” of God that believers may become “perfect” (τέλειος) in Christ (1:28). The author’s exhortations to “put on” behaviors befitting the status of “the elect of God” (3:12) is held in tension with the reality of two theological realities. The elect have been separated from the sphere of the “flesh,” and yet, the elect may still be contaminated by evil. Thus, evil must be shed (3:5-9). The means are engaging in “teaching and instructing in all wisdom” (3:16), a wisdom found only in Christ, the “mystery of God.”

The centrality of growth in the heavenly “mystery” arrives at the beginning of the epistle and is the key enabler to “walking” rightly. In 1:9, the author prays for the recipients to gain “knowledge” (ἐπίγνωσις) of God’s will through “wisdom” (σοφία) and “spiritual insight” (συνέσει πνευματικῇ). This prayer stems from the fact that he

218. Elgvin, “Mystery,” 134 n. 54.

associates the ability to “walk worthily” (περιπατῆσαι ἀξίως, 1:10; cf. 2:6) with growth in knowledge and understanding of God. However, to acquire such Godly wisdom, the elect are only to look “in Christ,” the “μυστήριον of God” (2:2) in whom is hidden “all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge” (2:3). Hidden throughout the ages but now “revealed” (φανερώω, 1:26) to the elect, this μυστήριον, then, contains the keys to wisdom and perfection. It should be apparent from the preceding discussion that *4QInstruction* provides a striking backdrop to the pattern of ideas in Colossians.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the discovery of *4QInstruction* has greatly expanded scholarly understanding of EJJ, especially the development in sapiential literature and its cross-fertilization with apocalyptic literature. The text demonstrates another view within EJJ in its reflection on the existence of the elect within an apocalyptic and eschatological worldview. More specifically for present purposes, *4QInstruction* provides an antecedent to the worldview and pattern of ideas represented in Colossians.

Like *4QInstruction*, the author of Colossians utilizes traditional sapiential topics such as teaching about creation (Col 1:15-20) and familial relations (Col 3:18-4:1) within an apocalyptic and eschatological framework (cf. πότε, Col 1:21; 3:7 / νυνί, Col 1:22; 3:8) to teach about the ethical division of humanity and to exhort the elect to “walk” rightly (Col 1:10; cf. 2:6). Like *4QInstruction*, the author views the elect as separated from the “flesh” (Col 2:10) whereas the ungodly remain in a “fleshly” existence with its associated behaviors (Col 3:5-10). This existence correlates with other aspects of the author’s realized eschatology that are also a reflection of ideas in *4QInstruction*. The elect have knowledge of a “heavenly book” in which their iniquities are not recorded, thus salvation is assured (Col 2:13-14). This stands in contrast to the ungodly whose iniquities, engraved in the “heavenly book,” condemn

them to face God's judgment (Col 3:5-6). Further, the elect have a "lot" with angels (Col 1:12) and a "heavenly" existence (Col 3:1-4) such that the distinctions between the "heavenly" and "earthly" spheres blur. The elect's "non-fleshly" mind, unlike that of the opponents (Col 2:18), is able to think rightly, and thus is able to grasp God's "mystery" which has been revealed only to them (Col 1:26; 2:2-3). Similar to the sage, the Colossian author exhorts believers "in Christ" to engage in "learning" activities (Col 3:16; cf. 1:28) for the purpose of growth in understanding of God's mysteries (cf. Col 1:9-10; 26) so that they may live righteously (cf. Col 1:10, 28; 2:6; 3:12-17; 4:5-6). In sum, *4QInstruction* provides a wealth of antecedents for the pattern of ideas identified within Colossians.

The significance of these findings should lead scholarship to reassess some traditional ideas on Colossians including its provenance. For example, scholarship has long-debated the background and purpose of the "hymn" (1:15-20).²¹⁹ Porkoný, like Lohse, argues Hellenistic Judaism provides much of the background, yet he still questions the origin of the idea regarding Christ's agency in creation.²²⁰ Similarly, Dunn recognizes the uniqueness of this passage and asks "Why should this hymn be cited, and why here?"²²¹ As I have shown, *4QInstruction*, a text representing Palestinian Judaism, provides a partial answer. The sage of *4QInstruction* frames the text with discussion on the Lordship of God in creation and eschatological judgment. Moreover, the sage associates God's "mystery," the *rāz nihyeh*, with God's instrument in creation. Identifying the interplay of these motifs as theological strategy to undergird paraenetic exhortations aids in recognizing a substantive backdrop to the similar ideas in Colossians.

In another example, this study lends weight to the view in recent scholarship that Judaism, not Hellenistic mystery religions or Gnosticism, provides the backdrop

219. See, for example, Lohse, *Colossians*, 42 who disagrees with Käsemann, "Primitive" that the background is a pre-Christian Gnostic text instead viewing Hellenistic Judaism as the background.

220. Pokorný, *Colossians*, 63–70.

221. Dunn, *Colossians*, 86.

for understanding the concept of μυστήριον in Col 1:26-27. Rightly, Lohse points out a key element lacking in the mystery cults, namely that “the mystery cults show no eschatological dimension of the concept of the ‘mystery’ which must be presupposed in the revelation-schema.”²²² The sage in *4QInstruction*, on the other hand, places eschatology at the forefront tying the revealed “mystery” to God’s salvation-historical plan and coming judgment. Thus, scholars increasingly argue that the HB and especially Qumran provide the wellspring for the idea of “mystery” in Colossians.²²³

While looking towards Judaism and the DSS points in the right direction, NT scholars commonly refer to the texts discovered at Khirbet Qumran as “Qumran” as though the parchments represent a collection of homogeneous ideas. This study demonstrates the fallacy in referring to *the* first-century Jewish context, “Qumran,” or the “Qumran Library.”²²⁴ Significant differences exist *between* DSS texts. The cost is high for failing to recognize that the DSS, much less Palestinian Judaism, provided a rich palette of ideas with which to paint the nature of reality. That is to say, broad brush strokes to describe the ideas in the DSS arrests in-depth investigations of the variegated hues within and between individual texts. A result is that Colossian scholars rarely, if ever, cite *4QInstruction*.²²⁵ Thus, a cognitive milieu in Palestinian Judaism represented by *4QInstruction* remains severely underexplored by NT scholars, and it offers the prospect of great returns.

222. Lohse, *Colossians*, 74 n. 45.

223. Moo, *Colossians*, 155.

224. Drawing upon the fine works of Brown, *Semitic* and Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, Thompson, *Colossians*, 41–42 asserts that “in the first-century Jewish context, ‘mystery’ refers to something that is hidden with God, stored in heaven, until such time as God chooses to disclose it.” Similarly, MacDonald, *Colossians*, 81, asserts that “in the QL [Qumran Literature] the mystery is revealed only to such persons as the teacher of righteousness (e.g., 1QpHab 7).” None of these scholars, however, explore *4QInstruction* which represents an alternate view than the *Hodayot* by teaching that the “mystery” has *already* been revealed to *all* those separated from the “flesh,” i.e. the sage, the addressee, and other “spiritual people.”

225. For example, while Sumney, *Colossians*, 104 correctly notes apocalyptic texts (e.g., *1 En.* 104:11-13) indicate that the mystery is not revealed until the eschatological end, and that this is in contrast to the perspective in Colossians, he fails to consider the contrary view to *1 Enoch* in *4QInstruction*.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Overview

This study has explored how the authors of Colossians and 1 Peter articulate the new existence of the elect and the means to righteous living. It has detected distinguishing emphases in each author's theology and illuminated the thought-world of two documents from EJJ which have provided (at least some of) the resources upon which 1 Peter and Colossians have drawn to articulate the impact of the Christ-event. In this way, the study has demonstrated that the cognitive milieus in Second Temple Judaism serve as significant formative influences upon early Christian authors.

In what follows, I summarize the results of the four questions raised in Chapter 1 and conclude by noting opportunities for further research. At a high level, the questions are: (1) How does the author view the σάρξ (“flesh”) of the elect (anthropology)? (2) How does the author articulate the *temporal* axis of salvation? (eschatology)? (3) How does the author articulate the new existence *spatially* (cosmology)? (4) By what means are the elect to live rightly (agency)?

7.1 The σάρξ of the Elect (Anthropology)

In 1 Peter, “flesh” (σάρξ) refers to creaturely, material existence and is not understood as an apocalyptic power, similar to the concept of **בשר** in the *Hodayot*. The σάρξ contains “evil desires” (ἐπιθυμίας) within it that create the propensity to sin, corresponding with the *Hodayot* in which “inclination” (יצר) may refer to “impulse” in a negative sense. In both texts, this view of the “flesh” applies to both the elect and the

ungodly. Thus, “sinful desires” not only remain a corrosive aspect of existence after faith in Christ, but their strength is undiminished. This negative anthropology leads to the author’s “interior discourse” regarding the battle within the elect between the “soul” (ψυχή) and the evil “desires of the flesh” (σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, 1 Pet. 2:11, cf. 1:14; 4:2-3).

In Colossians, the σάρξ may refer to human existence (1:22; cf. 1:24; 3:22), a view similar to that in 1 Peter, but it is also utilized negatively, implying a theological understanding in which humanity is subject to the power of sin. The negative σάρξ, internal to humankind, is similar to “the authority of darkness” (1:13), a power external to humankind, in that it is a power in its own right able to lead humankind astray. In its negative connotation, the σάρξ is associated with transgressions against God (cf. 3:7). After atonement, the elect “in Christ” no longer live under the authority of the “powers” (στοιχεῖα, 2:20; cf. 1:13), but have a new existence in which the negative σάρξ has been stripped from them (2:11). Thus, the author of Colossians does not describe the body of the elect as a battleground for interior ἐπιθυμῖαι, but exhibits a more positive anthropology of the new existence in which “evil desires” (ἐπιθυμία κακή, 3:5) may be “put to death.” This view is analogous to that in *4QInstruction*. The sage makes an anthropological distinction between the negative σάρξ of the ungodly, a “fleshly people,” and the positive σάρξ of the elect, a “spiritual people.” As I discussed at length in Chapters 5 and 6, this theological understanding of σάρξ has a profound impact on living rightly. In both texts, the presence of the “flesh” prevents the ungodly from being able to meditate rightly, understand the “mystery,” and thus, walk rightly.

7.2 The Temporal Axis of Salvation (Eschatology)

The author of 1 Peter locates the elect in the dénouement of a cosmic salvation-historical metanarrative known before the creation of the world (1:20). Since the “end is near” (4:1; cf. 1:20), the author continually encourages believers to prepare for

God's imminent judgment and to set all their "hope on the grace that Jesus Christ will bring you when he is revealed" (1:13; cf. 1:7; 4:13; 5:4). While present aspects of salvation are in effect (e.g., "new birth," 1:3, 23), σωτηρία is emphasized as a "glory" (δόξα) to be revealed (5:1), the outcome of their faith (1:9). In just a "little while" (5:10), the author explains, history will conclude with the revelation of Christ, a dramatic climax ending their suffering. As discussed in Chapter 4, this worldview reflects the cognitive milieu of the *Hodayot* in which the elect are afforded hope through revelation that sufferings will soon end when God intervenes to judge the ungodly.

The author of Colossians similarly locates the recipients in a "story" of salvation-history, yet stresses the division of history, not its conclusion. While God's wrath upon the ungodly "is coming" (3:6) and judgment is depicted as a certainty, it is not imminent. Instead of emphasizing imminent future judgment, the author points to the death and resurrection of Christ as the apocalyptic marker between the two ages. Thus, after the Christ-event, the elect experience a radically different existence. They are separated from the "flesh" (2:11), have had their sins "erased" from the "heavenly book" (2:13-14), have a "lot" with the "holy ones in the light" (1:12), and already possess the "mystery" (μυστήριον, 1:26-27; cf. 2:2; 4:3) of God. While Christ will return to bring an inheritance and close out the story (3:24; cf. 1:5; 3:5), salvation is emphasized as present already. In refuting erroneous teaching, the author reflects a similar pattern of thought in *4QInstruction*. For example, the sage frames the work with the Lordship of God emphasizing that the sins of the elect are not recorded in the "heavenly book" but the ungodly will experience God's wrath. The elect already possess the *rāz nihyeh*, the "mystery" of God, are separated from the "flesh," and have a "lot" with the "Holy Ones" in the light. Thus, the new existence in Colossians bears striking similarities with that developed in *4QInstruction*.

7.3 The New Existence in its Spatial Dimension (Cosmology)

In 1 Peter, God's merciful forgiveness results in believers becoming God's elect temple-community. The *Hodayot* also utilizes temple imagery to describe the elect and provides a striking antecedent to the symbolism found in 1 Peter 2:4-10. With this metaphor, 1 Peter depicts the Spirit as resting "upon" (ἐπὶ) the temple-community, a sign that it is God's restored, eschatological people. Unlike Colossians, 1 Peter provides little indication that indwelling of the Spirit serves as a key enabler to live rightly, and it never discusses Christ as indwelling a believer. Instead, Christ serves as the "cornerstone" of the elect temple-community. This provides an interesting point of departure from the *Hodayot* where the speaker refers extensively to God's Spirit as indwelling the elect, providing revelatory insight, and enabling righteous living. Like the *Hodayot*, 1 Peter does not convey movement by the elect up to the heavenly sphere. 1 Peter never refers to believers, individually or collectively, in union with Christ or spatially "above" (ὑπὲρ) with God/Christ as in Colossians. Instead, believers inhabit the "earthly" realm, and Christ inhabits the "heavenly" realm at God's right hand (3:22). Thus, the new existence in 1 Peter is conveyed primarily along temporal lines as God's earthly, "end-of-days," suffering temple-community.

The author of Colossians, on the other hand, utilizes the metaphor of a "body" to describe the community and emphasizes that Christ indwells the elect (1:27, 2:10; cf. 1:11; 1:29). This indwelling is foreshadowed in his depiction of God's past indwelling of Jesus during his earthly ministry (1:19) and his present indwelling of the heavenly Christ (2:9). As discussed above, indwelling transforms the anthropology of the elect and unites all believers with each other and with Christ. Therefore, Colossians depicts a permanent *nearness* of the "heavenlies" for the elect "in Christ." Situating the author's language within the context of a first-century dualistic cosmology and a worldview, as represented by EYL, that accentuated the distance between a most holy God and the elect, it becomes evident that the author describes a radical alteration to

the κόσμος and to the existence of the elect as a result of the Christ-event. Christ exists simultaneously “above” in heaven *and* “in” the believer, permanently breaching the cosmological barrier. Moreover, the elect exist, in some sense, in an intermediate plane of existence. In mysterious union with Christ and other believers, the elect have been transferred out of the authority of the “earthly” powers. Though they still exist on the “earth,” they have been transferred into Christ’s kingdom, and most significantly, have Christ(’s Spirit) within them, experiencing an intimacy with God beyond that even known by the angels. As noted in Chapter 6, the sage in *4QInstruction* utilizes similarly multivalent language to describe the elect as participating with the “Holy Ones in the light” and existing in an intermediate plane of existence.

7.4 The Means To Live Rightly (Agency)

In 1 Peter, “fleshly desires,” threaten to impede God’s command to “be holy” (1:15-16). The author, in a promise unique to the NT, counterintuitively writes “whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin” (4:1b). As argued in Chapter 3, this should be understood in light of the author’s overall worldview in which suffering serves manifold purposes, including enablement of moral transformation as the believer consciously adopts the “attitude” (ἔννοια) of Christ (4:1; cf. 2:23; 4:19). Persecution provides the opportunity to trust that God will exalt the believer in due course (5:6). If the believer trusts that after suffering for a little while, “the God of all grace, . . . , will himself restore, support, strengthen, and establish” him (5:10), then he will relinquish both the desire and opportunity for retaliation and revenge (3:8-14). Through this process, the believer gains the upper-hand against interior evil (2:11) and may cease from sinning (4:1b) and live for God’s will (4:2). In Chapter 4, analysis of the *Hodayot* demonstrated an antecedent to the view that suffering from persecution provides purification from interior evil so that the elect may cease from sinning. In fact, as I noted at the end of Chapter 1, the author of the *Hodayot* invested the experience of

involuntary and innocent suffering “with positive value and meaning *in itself*.”

Therefore, I argue it is the *Hodayot*, not 2 Corinthians, which provides the earliest known evidence of the view that innocent suffering positively impacts the interior of humankind.¹

In Colossians, learning activities, especially teaching and admonishing in the context of corporate worship are the primary means by which the elect will become complete in Christ (1:28; cf. 3:16). The author focuses these learning activities solely on the “mystery” (μυστήριον), that is Christ (1:27), for two reasons. Firstly, “all wisdom” is hidden in Christ (2:3). Secondly, the μυστήριον “has now been revealed to his saints” (1:26). In contrast to the ungodly, the elect already possess and may comprehend the “mystery” because they have been transformed in the new existence. United to Christ and each other through his indwelling presence, the elect have had their negative σάρξ removed, gaining the capacity to think rightly because they no longer have a “fleshly mind” (2:18). Without the “flesh” and with the ability to grow in understanding of the μυστήριον, the elect may “put to death” vices associated with the “old person” (3:5,8,9) and develop virtues of “the new person” (3:10). In Chapter 6, I discussed how *4QInstruction* provides a striking parallel to this pattern of ideas. The sage explains that the elect already possess the *rāz nihyeh*, the “mystery” of God containing all wisdom; moreover, as a “spiritual people” separated from the “flesh,” they have the capacity to grow in understanding of this revealed “mystery,” the outcome of which is the ability to avoid evil and walk “perfectly.”

7.5 Diversity in Second Temple Judaism

As has become clear, Colossians and 1 Peter contain distinguishing features in their worldviews, descriptions of the new existence, and emphasized means to walk rightly

1. *Contra* Harvey, *Renewal*, 31. See esp. his ch. 4.

as they reflect on the Christ-event. Many of these distinguishing features have been shown to correspond to particular cognitive milieus within Second Temple Judaism represented by the *Hodayot* and *4QInstruction*. That is to say, some of 1 Peter's distinctive ideas find precedents and parallels in the *Hodayot* and some of Colossians' particular emphases find precursors in *4QInstruction*. Analysis of the pattern of ideas within *4QInstruction* has shed much light on Colossians as has analysis of the *Hodayot* on 1 Peter.

This is not to say that 1 Peter only reflects the cognitive milieu of the *Hodayot* and Colossians only that of *4QInstruction*. As I discussed in Chapter 1, both epistles share much in common, including in terms of their "cognitive milieu." The intersecting and overlapping aspects of the epistles provided the basis for their comparison, and these shared features signal that both authors represent aspects of the cognitive milieus of both Qumran texts. However, the focus of this study has not been on the similarities and parallels between Colossians and 1 Peter but on the distinctive ideas between them in order to locate precedents, precursors, and parallels in EJJL thereby providing a plausible explanation for their distinctive ideas.

In doing so, this study corroborates the view that the Second Temple period evinces *Judaisms*.² That is to say, *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot* provide evidence of distinct nuances in their respective understandings of the existence of the elect and the means to live rightly. While these two Qumran texts share much in common with each other, a fact pointing to their own overlapping and intersecting cognitive milieus, their distinctive emphases signal theological diversity in EJJL. Since *4QInstruction* and the clearly sectarian *Hodayot* were both stored in the library at Khirbet Qumran, theological homogeneity may not have been the case even within the *yahad*. Thus, this study has shown that the literature from Qumran attests to the variety of traditions within Judaism prior to the time of Christ which are carried forward into the NT.

2. See VanderKam, "Mapping," 20.

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